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HISTORY OF SAWANTWADI FROM 1800 TO 1948

Thesis submitted for awarding the degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY (ARTS) in HISTORY,
University of Mumbai

by

AUSTIN JOHN FERNANDEZ

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UNDER THE GUIDANCE OF

DR. A. CHERIAN

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HONORARY PROFESSOR
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY, ST. XAVIER'S COLLEGE,
MUMBAI 400 001

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STATEMENT BY THE CANDIDATE

As required by the University Ordinances 770 and 771, I wish to state that the work embodied in this thesis entitled "**History of Sawantwadi from 1800 to 1948**" forms my own contribution to the research work carried out under the guidance of Dr. A. Cherian, Honorary Professor in History of St. Xavier's College, Mumbai 400 001.

This work has not been submitted for any degree of this or any other University. Wherever references have been made to previous works of others, it has been clearly indicated as such and included in the Bibliography.

(Austin John Fernandez)
Signature of the Candidate.

Certified by

(Dr. A. Cherian)
Signature of the Guide.

PREFACE

This thesis is an attempt to delineate the history of Sawantwadi as that of a maritime state. No historian has taken this view in the past. So far Sawantwadi was laid down as a State with agricultural background ruled over by the Sardesai and later on the Raja Bahadur with efficiency and defended with a brave army and partly with the navy. The people did some exports and imports of goods. But that was by way of supplementing their income. No one had put forth the proposition that overseas trade, both internal and external, was an intrinsic part of the State's economic activity providing a tremendous income without which the government could not have survived. In fact the whole or a substantial part of its army, navy, war and administrative expenditure depended on it. The whole State was successfully maintained as far as the trade was flowing from its ports, markets and through the numerous ghats in the Sahyadri. Come the season, the Lamanis came from the Deccan with thousands of bullocks laden with cotton textile, spices, grains, sugar, jaggery and a variety of goods over the Ramghat, Parpolighat, Talkatghat or the other ghats. They were protected by the Sardars and soldiers while they entered the State and by the *foujdars* and watchmen against the marauders while they crossed the *tarafs*. The State collected the *zakat* or customs, octroi and various duties on the goods according to a table of duties. The Lamanies took back with them the foreign goods imported at the ports.

If we look at the history of Sawantwadi during the Adilshahi period, we find the trade flowing through the ports with large incomes to the State and people besides the tremendous income to the traders. Although the local merchants bought a majority of the goods at Pedne, the Europeans had their trading stations at Vengurla, Rajapur and Pedne from where they could get goods and tremendous profits. The largest ships came to Vengurla with goods from Japan, Malacca, China, Sri Lanka, Iran, Arabia, the Red Sea and the North Western and Western ports of Africa. They carried back Indian goods from Venguria to various ports.

When the Sawants ruled the State, they had a large navy, known for decades to the British as Kempsant's navy, for protecting their trade. Sawants sent their ships to Arabia to bring horses and supplied them to powers in the Deccan. They even had boats which were very useful for lowering horses from the ships. Such boats could not be seen anywhere else. The ships brought well known goods to Vengurla and the prosperous

town of Banda and took the various goods grown and manufactured in the Deccan. But the largest part were textiles that were to be supplied to the Indian cotton monopoly in the Muslim west across the sea.

This trading activity went on till about the 1780s. After this the English merchants got the Indian cotton monopoly in the Muslim countries in their hands. Along with this, the other industrial goods also flooded those markets. The ships of Indians, especially of Surat, began to lie idle with no demand for Indian textiles generating in the Muslim western countries. Sawantwadi ships began to attack the English ships and loot them in what was known as "piracy". The British were engaged in the Napoleonic and the Mahratta wars. But as soon as they were free from the pressure, they began their diplomatic and military action against Sawantwadi. This resulted in the Treaty of 1812 and finally the Treaty of Subsidiary Alliance of 1819 with Sawantwadi. Their intention was merely commercial as could be seen from the terms of the treaty. They took away from Sawantwadi State its ports and the coast line. They had control of the trade through Vengurla and of the sea customs. In the next twenty years, they took away from the State the control of the Ramghat, and the right to collect land customs. They had thus the control of the trade and could import and export goods according to their long term needs. The British had complete freedom to import their industrial manufacture and to export cotton bales from Dharwad, Hubli, Vijapur and Belgaum.

When Sardars, soldiers, sailers, watchmen and so many others connected with the trade did not get their jobs, they were deprived of their means of livelihood. This caused their uprising against the British from about 1828. There was an armed resistance of Sardars and soldiers under the leadership of Phond Sawant Tambulkar Desai *Tape* Banda and various other Desais like Hir Sawant Dingnekar, Huwelkar Desai and Usapkar Desai. The other important leaders were the sons of Desai Phond Sawant whose names were Bhim Sawant Nana Desai, Tan Sawant Baba Desai and Hanmant Sawant. The uprising was headed by the eldest son of Khem Sawant IV who declared himself Raja Bahadur Phond Sawant.

The British appointed Major General DelaMotte to lead the army against the Mahrattas. The army bombarded Manohargad which was in occupation of the Sardars and the army. It could make no impact on the fort. But one day, when Raja Phond Sawant and Phond Sawant Tambulkar Desai and their advisers had lost all hope, they decided to

vacate Manohargad. After a battle at the entrance of Ramghat, they took refuge in Goa.

The freedom to import their industrial goods and to export the improved cotton was continued till the laying down of the Madras and Southern Maratha Railway in the 1880s. The importance of the Ramghat and Vengurla was then over. So was Colonel Westropp allowed to liberalize, although slightly, the grant of real rulership to Raghunath. And then was given education in England to Khem Sawant. And he was given the real rights to rule over Sawantwadi. It was also recognized by the Emperor that his title was Raja Bahadur and not Sardesai as he was wrongly addressed.

The people of Sawantwadi were left with the income of agriculture and horticulture along with excise and forest. They could indulge in some coastal trade in their small products. They were being recruited to the British Indian army and police and later on as raw labourers in the growing industries. They had got education and training to get more remunerative jobs in the industries which had grown till the outbreak of World War I. Raja Khem Sawant V and his successor Regent Rani Parvatidevi tried to improve the standard of living among the people. But this had a limit which they started crossing when the State was merged into the Dominion of India.

This history of a maritime state which was allowed to continue without the ports and the sea coast is being laid before historical students. I have tried to examine all the evidence which is possible in Mumbai and Sawantwadi. The historical evidence is strong in respect of the events of the period although my interpretation is different from that of the British historians. The evidence about the events of the trade is thin. Yet it is strong in respect of the fact of international trade that went on in Sawantwadi in the past.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Lieutenant Colonel Shivram Raje Sawant Bhonsle, the last Raja Bahadur of the Sawantwadi State, asked me to write the history of the State from 1800 onwards. It was about three months before he died. He promised to me the use of all the documents, including the Diary of Khem Sawant V, which he had in his possession. He wrote to me a letter giving me all the information about the sources that were available for the work. I eagerly agreed to his request although I was more than seventy years old. I am grateful to him for this request.

I started work a few days after his death. Ranisaheb Satvasheela Devi Sawant Bhonsle made very comfortable arrangement in the Palace compound for perusing the seventeen Diaries. I am grateful to her for the invaluable help she arranged for my work.

A very important source of information was the *Sawantwadi Chitnishi Daftar*. I am grateful to Shri Mukund Chitnis for making it available to me.

The Rani Parvatidevi Library of Pancham Khemraj Mahavidyalaya, of which Shri G.A. Buwa is the Librarian, made available to me the files from the beginning of *Vainateya* to 1948. I was able to study the several numbers of the *Administration Report of the Sawantwadi State*. Shri Buwa also supplied from the Palace the *Sawantwadi Sansthan Shikshan Samitee Ahaval*. I am grateful to him for making the documents available to me.

I am also grateful to the Department of History and Records Management Services-Presbyterian Church, (U.S.A.), Philadelphia and Rockefeller Archive Center, North Tarrytown, New York, for allowing me to use their archives. I am also grateful to Dr. Robert F. Goheen, Princeton University, New Jersey, for letting me use the Ms. entitled *Vision and Vocation*.

I am grateful to the Maharashtra State Archives and its staff to let me use its valuable collection of documents.

I am also grateful to Dr. A. Cherian, my Professor and Guide at the St. Xavier's College, not only for his expert guidance and generosity, but also for securing for me the use of the invaluable material in the sixty bundles with the Collectorate of Sindhudurg. I had been trying to have access to this material for about two years. Then Dr. Cherian approached

the Librarian of the University of Mumbai, Smt. Joseph, and she agreed to speak about it to Shri Joseph, IAS. She asked me to meet Shri Ashok Sinha, Commissioner of Konkan. He got in touch with Shri Bhushan Gagrani, Collector of Sindhudurg. When I went to Sindhudurg, the sixty bundles were available to me to work on in a comfortable room. I am grateful to all these persons for making available to me this valuable material.

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I have to express my love and gratitude to my beloved wife, Vidya, who took care of me in my feeble condition, accompanied me in my long stays in various rural and urban places, and helped me in making notes in Marathi. I am also grateful to my daughter Ila for her help in formatting this thesis. I am also grateful to all my children who have helped me in my task. My brother Leo, who has traveled most of the former State of Sawantwadi, was useful to me for getting valuable information. I am grateful to him for the help.

I must express my gratitude to the Heras Institute of Indian History and Culture, Chief Justice Mohammed Ali Chagla Memorial Fund and the Indian Council of Historical Research for making available to me the fellowships, which made it possible to work on this thesis.

A J Fernandez

Austin J. Fernandez.

ABBREVIATIONS

3	3 Reports, Routine
5	5 International Health Board/Division
Administration Report	Administration Report of the Sawantwadi State
Aitchison, Treaties etc	Aitchison, C.V., A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sanads, relating to India and neighbouring countries based on Bombay Government Records, Vol. VII, Part II, Sawantwari N, LXXXVIII
ARSS	Administration Report of the Sawantwadi State
Bapusahebanchem Charitra	M. N. Vaidya, Shrimant Bapusaheb Maharajanchem Charitra ani Athwani
Bombay Gazetteer, Belgaum	Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Vol. XXI, Belgaum
Bombay Gazetteer, Sawantwadi	Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Ratnagiri and Sawantwadi State
Chitnishi Daftar	Sawantwadi State Chitnishi Daftar
Courtney and Auld, Memoir	Courtney, W., and Auld, J.W., Memoir on the Sawunt Waree State
DHRMS	Department of History and Record Management Services
Diary	Personal Diaries of Khem Sawant V, 1921-1937
GAPC	General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.
Gazette	Savantwadi Darbari Gazette
GBP Sawantwadi	Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Vol. X, Ratnagiri and Sawantwadi
History of Sawantwadi	R 48/FH 1 / 826, History of Sawantwadi State
MD	Military Department
MSA	Maharashtra State Archives
MSGR	Maharashtra State Gazetteers: Ratnagiri District
RFA	The Rockefeller Foundation Archives

SDD	Secret Department Diary
SDG	Savantwadi Darbari Gazette
SPDD	Secret and Political Department Diary
SPKML	Shri Pancham Khemraj Mahavidyalay Library
SSR	Sawantwadi State Records

ILLUSTRATION

Frontispiece

A map of 1878 showing the map of Sawantwadi after the Treaty of 1819. The map of Sawantwadi before 1803 included the territory of Pedne, Dicholi, which is shown as Bicholim and Satari, which is shown as Sanquelim. These territories were annexed by the King of Portugal at the end of the rule of Raja Bahadur Khem Sawant III. The territories to the northeast of Sawantwadi south of the Gad River and those of Vengurla and the coastal strip were taken over by the British.

The road joining Vengurla via Tulas, Talawda, Mulgaon, Banda, Degwa, Talkat, Sasoli, Maneri, Bhedshi through the Ramghat joining Belgaum, is shown.

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Chapter 1

THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE

WHEN ONE APPROACHES SAWANTWADI from Belgaum by road, he comes to a hill station called Amboli. It is situated at about 900 metres high from the sea on the Sahyadri Mountains. The Sahyadri range starts from the Narmada region and sfretches southwards up to Kerala. While the range is called the Sahyadri in the north, it is known as Anamalai in the south. It separates the eastern part of the Indian Peninsula which slopes gradually towards the east from the narrow strip of low lying land along the Arabian Sea to its west which is called the Konkan. The Sahyadri is also known as the Western Ghats, which is wrong according to some, as the term should apply to passes like Bhor, Ram or Parpoli, which lie in a steep ascent from the west to the east across the mountains. The tallest peak in Amboli is 974 metres or 3,195 feet high.

Land full of hills, valleys and plateaus

If one goes from Amboli to Mahadeogad, which is 852 metres or 2,794 feet above the sea level and roughly three kilometres from it, and surveys the scene below with binoculars, one can see the land of Tal Konkan stretching to the Arabian Sea. The outstanding feature of Tal Konkan is that 85 per cent of its land is hilly and rugged. On the east it consists of the steep and forbidding scarp of the main Sahyadri. In all over the Tal Konkan, there are transverse chains of small and big hills, which develop higher elevation in their middle portions. These are separated from each other by undulating plateaus, which gain in area westwards as the coastline is approached. The plateaus are in great part made barren by a capping of laterite rock, cleft by deep, narrow, steep-sided valleys and ravines, through which rivers and streams find their way from the Sahyadri to the sea. The coastline is irregular, marked by alternating bluff and curving bays, but it is uniformly rocky and shallow and hence has a limited use for navigation. There are sandy stretches, which offer opportunities for fishing.[1]

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1. *Maharashtra State Gazetteers: Ratnagiri District*, (Hereafter *MSGR*), pp. 2-3 and 33. From pages contributed by C.D.Deshpande.

Meteorology

The meteorology of the South Konkan, like that of the rest of India, is governed by the alteration of the south-west and north-east monsoons.[2] The southwest monsoons blowing from the Arabian Sea bring heavy clouds that are driven to the walls of the Sahyadri and cause a heavy rainfall. From February to the middle of May strong gusty winds blow from the northwest. The hot weather begins in March, when at times in the afternoon with a heavy cloudy sky, the thermometer rises to 34.4 degrees Celsius. In April, thunder, lightening and rain sometimes follow the hottest month of the year, mists and fogs from the northeast. May, though it has a higher average temperature than April, is freshened by a strong sea breeze, with sometimes, but less often than in April, a thunder storm from the northeast.[3] The south-west monsoon advances over the South Konkan from June to September and then the northeast monsoon blows over it from October to December. When the southwest monsoon strikes the Sahyadri, it deposits heavy rainfall over it and the low lands full of hills that lie to its west.[4] The rainy season begins early in June and ends about the end of October.[5] The full strength of the rains lasts for about three months and, by the end of October, the southwest monsoons have passed out of the country. The northeast monsoon blows from the middle of October to the end of December. The winter sets in during December and lasts till February. The summer season, which lasts from March to May, makes the territory hot and moist.[6] The fall was very heavy, varying, during the thirty-two years ending 1879, from 5639 mm in 1874 to 2362 mm in 1855 and averaging 3632 mm. Though well distributed over the whole rainy season, the fall is generally greatest in June and July.[7]

Records of rainfall in the State for about 80 years have been given by the Meteorological Department of the Government of India, Pune. Amboli received 7446 mm. of rainfall, equal to about twice as much as at Sawantwadi, which received 3,758 mm. The rainfall of Banda, Kudal, Vengurla and Malwan was 3,571, 3082, 2,671 and 2,155 mm. respectively. The average rainfall of the State, excluding the figures for

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2. C. Collin Davies, *An Historical Atlas of the Indian Peninsula*, p. 76.
3. *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Vol. X, Ratnagiri and Sawantwadi* , (Hereafter *GBP Sawantwadi*), p. 399.
4. C. Collin Davies, *op. cit.*, p. 76.
5. *GBP Sawantwadi*, p. 399.
6. C. Collin Davies, *op. cit.*, p. 76.
7. *GBP Sawantwadi*, p. 399.

Amboli, which should not count for the general conditions of the plains, was 3,047 mm. The rainfall increased rapidly from the coast towards the Sahyadri. July was the month with highest rainfall when about one-third of the annual rainfall was received.[8]

Thermometric readings registered during the five years ending 1879 varied from 32.8 degrees in May to 20.5 degrees in December and January. The temperature registered between 1851 and 1857 varied from 32.2 degrees in May to 18.8 degrees in January.[9]

Rivers and their navigability

There are five rivers having their origin in the Sahyadri, but one flows to the other side from its origin in Amboli where it is known as Hiranyakeshi. It flows to Kolhapur and Belgaum and meets the Krishna at Vijapur where it is known as Ghataprabha. The remaining four flow through the Tal Konkan Subah and meet the Arabian Sea.[10] None of them are of any considerable size. At first mountain torrents dashing over wild and rocky beds down steep hill sides, as they pass into the plains they flow with gentle current between sloping and open banks, till the largest of them, about 16 kilometres from the sea, ends in tidal navigable creeks.[11]

The northern most river is the Gadnadi which rises near the Ghotgaghat and meets the sea at Sarjekot, about five kilometres north of Malwan, where it is known as Kalavli creek. A developing sand bar from the north influences the estuary. The river is forded at two points and has a very limited navigability.[12]

The Karli River takes its origin in Shivapur village north of Manohargad. It is known as the Sarambal in upper reaches. At the village of Panvas and Pandur, about thirty kilometres from its source, the Bel and the Hateri join it. Five kilometres further, near the village of Anav, the other branch joins the main stream. For the remaining twenty-three kilometres below Anav, the river was tidal and navigable for craft of about one and a half tons (100 *mans*) burden.[13] It flows through Keravde, Naneli, Mandkuli,

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8. *MSGR*, pp. 27, 30-31.
9. *GBP Sawantwadi*, p. 400.
10. Vithal P. Pingulkar,*Sawantwadi Sansthancha Itihas*, Part I, p. 1.
11. *GBP Sawantwadi*, p. 388.
12. *MSGR*, p. 9.
13. *GBP Sawantwadi*, p. 388.

Kudal, Nerur, Chendwan, Kanvathi, Malwan and Deobagh to the Arabian Sea. It is 77 kilometres long and is known as Bhangsal in Kudal.[14]

The Terekhol River has its origin at Shirshinge, which is also near Manohargad. It is about 68 kilometres long and flows through Kalambist, Madkhol, Otawne, Insuli, Banda, Satarde, Kavthane, Kinle and Aronda and meets at Terekhol to the sea. It is also called the Banda River. As far as Banda, or about 24 kilometres from the sea, it was tidal and navigable for boats of about one and half tons burden. Larger craft could not pass further than Aronda about five kilometres from its mouth. Many mountain streams and rivulets join the Terekhol, and, during the rainy season, it becomes a very formidable river. For the rest of the year it is in many places fordable at low tide, chiefly at Banda, Pangyar, Kanki, Bhaip, Naik, Kajra and Jhagadkhol. In the bed of the Terekhol near Kinla, about 15 kilometres below Banda, an island of about 40 hectares, occupied for about 200 years before 1880, contains a few huts and coconut trees. Near Aronda are four smaller islands, Dhonk, Karambal, Jagad and Narayandurg.[15]

The Tilari rises at Kendre Budruk and flows through Hewalem, Ghotgem, Parmem, Sateli, Sasoli and Maneri and meets the sea at Chapora in Goa where it is known as Kolwal creek. Besides Kasal, Pangrad, Pithdhaval, Hateri, Talavde, Tiravde, Kadshi, Kalne are the small rivers.[16]

The southernmost river bordering Dicholi and flowing through Satari is the Mandovi. It separates Dicholi from Phonda, which went under the Sunda rule from the time of 1706. It is known today as one of the two most important rivers of Goa.

The State blessed with forests

Forest, jungle, wood and thickets covered about eighty-five per cent of the State. It was therefore easy for the people to defend their territory from external aggression. The jungles provided the people with timber for building purposes and furniture, firewood, grass, fruit and various jungle food products. They could also get from it the leaves, fruit, barks and roots of trees, plants and creepers which some of the people knew were useful

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14. Vithal P. Pingulkar, *op. cit.*, p. 1.
15. *GBP Sawantwadi,* pp. 388-389.
16. Vithal P. Pingulkar, *op. cit.*, p. 1.

as remedies on the common and incurable diseases. Besides, the terrain of Sawantwadi was blessed with forest which one does not find in Ratnagiri district except in Dapoli, which was only about 1,036 hectares in extent. The forest in Sawantwadi extended to 20,020.7 hectares[17] and lies within the narrow limits between Sahyadri heights down to elevations approaching sea level. The average width of the tract is 32 kilometres only and the whole area is entirely rugged and hilly with precipitous drops in places. Its two distinct climatic formations are: (1) Bombay sub-tropical evergreen forests and (2) South Indian tropical moist deciduous forests. The latter is composed of two edaphic variations: (i) forests having laterite red soil and (ii) forests with sandy loams.[18]

There are many species in the forest like *hirda, amberi, amba, shendri, parjambhul, dinda, dikemali, triphol, kapshi, vanaphali, pakokum, watamb,* to name only a few. The most characteristic species is teak that reaches luxuriant size in the sandy loams found in Mangaon and parts of Malgaon and Mazgaon rounds.[19]

Jungle beasts, birds and reptiles

The wild thick forests were full of jungle beasts, birds and reptiles. The tiger or *patait wagh*, the panther or *biblya wagh*, the hunting leopard or chittah, the bear or *ashwal*, the bison or *gava*, the wild boar or *ran dukar*, the jackal or *kolha*, the fox or *khonkad*, the hyena or *taras*, the stag or *sambar*, the spotted deer or chital, the barking deer or *bhekar*, wild dog or *kolsunda*, the civet or *jovadi*, the common jungle cat or *baul*, the squirrel or *shenkra*, the hare or *sasa*, the porcupine or *salindar*, the common Indian otter or *ud*, and the monkey were found in the jungles. Both harmless and poisonous snakes were common.[20]

Boundaries and administrative demarcation

This was indeed the Tal Konkan Subah that was administered by an Adilshahi Subehdar. It contained the area between the Sahyadri and the Arabian Sea right from Kharepatan in the north to the Kalinadi in the south. The Portuguese had conquered Tiswadi, Bardez and Salcette in the sixteenth century. When the Adilshahi Kingdom was conquered by the

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17. *MSGR*, p. 33.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 34.
19. *Ibid.*, pp. 34-35.
20. *GBP Sawantwadi*, p. 405.

Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb and later on Khem Sawant II was appointed as the Sardesai of Kudal and Bhimgad, he could not get possession of Ponda Mahal because the Portuguese were interested in another Chieftain handling it. The territory, which came under the control of the Sawantwadi Sansthan, stretched to the west in a breadth of about fifty kilometres of land extending from Gadnadi in the north to Bardez and Panchmahals in the south. The land is full of numerous hills, both tall and short. The Sahyadri provides the eastern boundary. To the west one can see the coastline washed by the Arabian Sea. The northern boundary of the region is the Gadnadi that is known as Kalawali creek where it meets the sea. To the north of the Gadnadi lies the Salshi Mahal. And to the south Bardez and Panchmahals bound it. To the northeast over the mountains was the State of Kolhapur and to the east of the boundary were Belgaum and Dharwad. To the north was the territory of the Angreys who were the descendants of Kanhoji Angrey, the Admiral of the Marathas. And to its south was the Portuguese territory of Goa.

The Sawantwadi Sansthan was about 440,300 hectares or 1700 square miles of territory containing 427 villages. It was divided into two parganahs, namely, Kudal and Bhimgarh. Kudal had twelve tarafs, two karyats and one port. The tarafs were Manohar, Talavde, Mangaon, Ajgaon, Satarde, Pat, Haveli, Kalsuli, Bordave, Maland, Varad and Masura. The two karyats were Nerur and Patgaon and the port was Vengurla. The Bhimgadh parganah was divided into five mahals, which were Maneri, Pedne, Dicholi, Sakhali and Phonda. Phonda, however, was lost by Sawantwadi to the Sunda ruler because of the intervention of the Portuguese.[21]

Life the people lived

In this land the people had been living for centuries. There were the *Mahars* who occupied the territory before about the second century A.D. They were known as the first owners, or *thorle ganvkars* of the villages. The Mahrattas, who happened to be Aryans, began settling down in the territory from about the second century A.D. They were definitely Aryans as the Vedic influences on their religion and culture decisively show to this day. Being *pitrupujak* or paternal worshippers, they had *vivaha hom*, or the fire that is in the middle when marriage ceremony is performed, the

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21. Vithal P. Pingulkar, *op. cit.*, Part I, p. 1.

saptapadi or seven steps which are taken, and the *yagnya pavita* or the holy thread which is worn and other ceremonies. They were the same as *Kudale vani* or Kudal Deshastha Vaishyas.

The Mahrattas began to cultivate the land, which they took over from the *Mahars* and accepted from them the protection of the *Devchars*, the spiritual beings, each one of whom protected a village. And for this they agreed to give a portion of the produce of the land to the *Mahars* which they received upto the end. They established their friendly goddesses or *Ishta Devatas* in their villages and included in the *devaski*, or ensemble, of Five *Devchars* whom they had adopted for their protection.

The Mahrattas were in fact the majority of the population of the State. Except the Brahmans, like the Saraswats who were divided into Bardeshkar, Sashtikar and Shenvi, Kudaldeshkar Prabhu, Karadhe and Konkanastha Brahman, the Harijan or the Chambars and Mahars, the Muslims who were mainly of the Sunni division and Roman Catholic, all the smaller subcastes like the Bhandaries divided into Hetkari and Kitte Bhandari, Sutar or carpenters, dhavad or blacksmith and other subcastes were developed from the Mahrattas.

The exact population figures in the State cannot be known. But there was in 1851, since the effort of 1843-44 at census was untrustworthy, a total population of 150,065 souls of the truncated State of about half the original size. Since this was the population of 222 villages, the population of 427 villages could have been at least 300,000. About 80 per cent of the population was Mahrattas and they cultivated the bulk of the land.

There were many rulers over the land in the history of the Christian era. There were Naga rulers upto about 250 A.D., Kadambas from 250 to 600 A.D., Chalukyas from 590 to 757, Rashtrakutas and Shilaharas from 757 to 973, and Kadambas from 973 to 1189. Then there were invasions of Hoishalas and Yadavas till there was establishment of Kudal, the invasion of Bahamani Sultan Alla-ud-din I, and then there is Vijayanagara invasion to liberate the territory from the Bahamani rule. In the end, Mahmud Gawan captured South Konkan and Goa in 1470.

Empire and panchayat administration

The people knew how to protect their state under their political, economic, social and religious institutions. And they had more or less of

the common property according to their status. The agricultural land was divided among the Mahrattas who held most of it, Brahmans, Bhandaries, Vaishyas, Mohammedans and Christians. They cultivated the land with their agricultural tools and were supplied with their needs by carpenters, ironsmiths, potters, shopkeepers and the untouchables. The Mahrattas and Bhandaries defended the land with their services on the battlefield and the sea and the sardars among the Mahrattas and darakdars from the Brahmans served the State with more responsible jobs. The Sardesai was the chief of the State and collected the revenue from the people through the gram panchayats and remitted a substantial part to the king or emperor. The panchayat enjoyed considerable powers in political, social, economic and religious matters and possessed police powers as well. The more complicated cases and crimes were referred to the courts of the Sardesai. The Sardesai wielded absolute power but respected the rights of property, religion, and society. He had his vast *Sheri Thikans* or Crown lands and managed the affairs of the State with the Darakdars and servants. He had the revenue of agriculture, horticulture, trade and various matters. He maintained a standing army with cavalry, a powerful navy manned by Bhandaries to protect the land and the overseas trade, and a number of forts well guarded with *gadkaris* and arms. The village panchayats had the responsibilities of maintaining peace and order in the State. This in general was the pattern of life that they followed.

People were peaceful but brave and warlike

The people were peace loving but ready to fight if their chief said their interests were likely to be harmed. They showed enough respect to strangers but they were cautious about their money. They were on the whole dignified and prepared to make a just deed to others. And many of them were fond of taking recourse to litigation in order to satisfy their pretty whimsicality.

Food which sustained the people

The people of the land made their living by agriculture. This depended mostly on the rains. The rivers became active during the rainy season, often times flooding the territory. This was because they started in mountainous territory and flowed to non-distant sea over regions steep in descent. The water in the rivers disappeared in December or January and only some lands could get their water after that. The common people tilled

their land only in the beginning of the rainy season, toiled during the rains and collected their harvests in October or November. The land was terraced and paved and the rice that was grown was the one that needed parboiling. This was the rice, which was most popular, and the only rice that was eaten by the people with some curry or without it. They had it for breakfast that was called *pej*. Some land was cultivated in three or four years time and this was on the hilly sides. The crop was known as *nachni* and was used for making bread or as substitute for milk for infants. The crop was just enough for living and the rest of it were imported for the well to do. The landless people lived on their labour or skills in the various fields they belonged to, as, for instance, carpenters, iron smiths, barbers, potters, weavers, wood gatherers, tailors, chappal makers and wood splitters.

Delicious fruit to supplement the food

There were a lot of fruit trees that were providers of supplementary food. The coconut tree provided fruit that was a necessity for all people, rich and poor. They made curries out of coconut kernel, which was ground to a fine paste along with chilies, turmeric, garlic and spices, or *garam masala* that they could get from the market according to their capacity. They even used the coconut kernel when they made the sweetmeats by mixing it with jaggery or sugar and the flour made out of rice, wheat or cereals. The tree provided the broom, the woven leaves for thatching and privacy, the trunk for roofing, the coir for making ropes and strings and the coconut cover for making spoons. The juice of the tree could be had in the morning or evening for a tonic or be fermented for intoxicating drink or distilled into liquor. The tender coconut water could be had for a delicious and healthy drink. Besides, the coconut was in demand for export.

There were also other fruits like the cashew of which not only the cashew seed was rich as food, but also the cashew apples were very popular as fruit. The juice of the cashew apple was distilled to make liquor for being inebriated. The jackfruit was another delicious fruit that was eaten while it was tender, raw and ripe. The fruit was opened when it was ripe to reveal the luscious and sweet *gares* or pulp of the fruit. It was of two kinds, the *kapo*, which is the one that was firm yet, tender and the *rasal* that was not firm but full of tenderness and sweet. The seeds of the jackfruit were used for making vegetables or for eating boiled or fried. The skin of the jackfruit was given to cattle for eating.

The people also ate mangoes in the season, which lasted from April to June. The fruit was eaten or stored in salt, spices and oil when it was raw and stored for the rainy season. There were the common varieties of ripe mangoes that were grown and available cheaply. But there were also the *mange curate* or cured mangoes which had been developed by the Portuguese and named after the scientist responsible for each of them. They were known as alphonso, mangcurade, fernandes, saldhana, bishop and pyrie and were known among the people of Tal Konkan as *hapus, feman, mancur, saldhan, bishop* and *pyrie*. This fruit that has become famous all over the world was available to the people.

All liked fish and meat except few

There were also a variety of fruits available to the people as also a variety of vegetables, which were popular among them. They were all fish and meat eaters and ate salted fish during the rainy season when fresh fish was not available. The Konkanastha Brahmans who were only small in number did not eat fish. The fishermen caught fish from the sea among which were the popular varieties like *pamplet, eeswan, bangdo, mori, sarango,* and many others. On certain occasions they had the meat of goats, preferably a he-goat or of a cock or hen.

Respect for cobra and the supernatural

The people were very scared of reptiles that were common. The most famous among them was the cobra that was poisonous. There were also a few others, which were poisonous, and a large number, which were not. But the cobra was the terror and was worshipped and treated with great respect. There were strange stories about the cobra following men who had hurt them and having excellent memories that would help them trace the unfortunate victims to the end of the earth.

Hinduism was the religion of more than ninety per cent of the people. There were a large number of temples, almost one per village. They were built of laterite stone, with a *devara* or *sanctum sanctorum* and hall with pillars facing it. Festivals with processions were held every year but almost throughout the year the temples were well attended. Since the people were dependent on the monsoon for their livelihood, which gave them just enough to pull through the year, they awaited it with a lot of trepidation. Once it arrived in time, they had to wait and see that it went on through out the season. But in case of failure of the rains, they had to

suffer. They lived in mud houses that were full of darkness. They were lighted, in most of the cases, by a *samai* and a tin with a wick if they had any oil for enkindling it. In the darkness, surrounded by shrubs, thickets, trees and forest, with reptiles and wild animals roaming around, they passed the night with fear and anxiety. In the thick darkness, they feared the ghosts who might lie on trees or the devil or *devchar* who might walk around on the roads. The evil spirits who inherited the night were many and the stories of how these various beings encountered the numerous people were inexhaustible. It was therefore extremely difficult for them to step out of the house after darkness.

The ghosts or *bhut* were known to them and had made their appearance when they had to go out at night. They made their strange appearances with their feet turned backwards and usually under a *vad* tree, which were their refuge. They had therefore to see a *mantravadi* who knew the *mantras* to remove the evil effect. They had to offer a coconut, a small or big amount of money depending upon the mischief that they believed was about to be caused.

An incurable illness, the visitation of an epidemic, the sudden illness and death of a person connected with pleasant prospects for a family, the loss of property and many such calamities called for pacifying the anger of the *pisachyas* or *bhutas*, that is of the spirits which inhabit the earth. And just as their anger might be pacified, they could also be enraged against a person by an enemy. A man had to satisfy the spirits in order to live happily.

They spoke a dialect, or language according to Goans, which has some relationship to Marathi. It was not written, for which Marathi was used. Marathi was the language that was taught to youngsters who wanted to learn and use it in administration and accounts. It was also the language in which the religious and other works were written. But the people including those belonging to the higher castes spoke the Kudale or Kudvali language even at home, except the Konkanastha Brahmans. It was also the language of the bazaar and contained a lot of abusive words that were used by many in regular conversation. In the *Dahimkala*, that is the stories from the Puranas that were performed by groups of persons before audiences, the Shankasur as well as the people who were supposed to be supernatural spoke in this language. Indeed, it was the *lingua franca* of the Tal Konkan.

Mahmud Gavan on Tal Konkan

The territory of Tal Konkan was independent when Bahmanis had control over Dabul and Chaul. Mahmud Gavan, the Bahmani *Wazir*, found it necessary to undertake his expedition to the Tal Konkan to prevent sea-marauders from looting Bahmani ships bound for the west. "The natural fort-like territory of the Konkan and the Desh, with its mountain ramparts in the east and the moat of the Arabian Sea in the west was the nursery of a virile race which kept its independence from the Bahmanis". Mahmud Gavan conquered Goa but before he could reach that "envy of the ports of India", he had to subdue a number of forts surrounded by impassable forests, which he could pass with great difficulty.[22] "You are fully aware that the Konkan country is full of jungle and mountain and it is impossible for the army to pass through without cutting down the trees and to a certain extent leveling the ground for the army to pass through. ... You can well understand that this task is difficult of accomplishment without manpower and the required implements."[23]

Rise of Adil Shahi Kingdom and its rule in South Konkan

Mahmud Gawan was murdered soon after this and Yusuf Adil Khan established in 1489 a line of the Adil Shahi Sultans with Vijapur as its capital. When he died in 1510, he held the territory of Tal Konkan along with the rest of the territory of Vijapur. When the fourth ruler, Ibrahim Adil Shah I, assumed the royal title of 'Shah', he degraded the *afaqi* faction and in their place enrolled the Dakhnis including the Mahrattas and *Habshis* to the services. Mahrattas acquired great influence at his court and the public accounts began to be maintained in Marathi.[24]

The most glorious reign of this dynasty was that of Muhammad Adil Shah, which lasted from 1627 to 1656. He promoted poetry, painting and architecture. His colossal mausoleum is now named "Gol Gumbaj", the greatest structural triumph of Indo-Perso-Ottoman architecture of the Adil Shahi period. He introduced fresco paintings and portraits, which can be seen on the walls of Asar Mahal, Pavilion at Kumatgi and Sat Manzil. He was followed by Ali Adil Shah II who was brought to the throne by the Queen, Bari Sahiba. The Adil Shahi kingdom came to an end when

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22. Haroon Khan Sherwani, *The Bahmanis of the Deccan*, p. 6.
23. *Ibid.*, Mahmud Gavan to a learned friend, pp. lxx, 238.
24. M.A.Nayeem, *External Relations of the Bijapur Kingdom*, p. 20-22.

Aurangzeb deposed Sikandar Adil Shah, who had come to the throne at the age of four, in 1686.[25]

Importance of geographical location of Tal Konkan

The Tal Konkan had been important for several centuries on account of the trade that attracted the merchants coming from the ports of the Arabian Sea, the Indian Ocean and the Pacific Ocean. There was Vengurla, which was known to be an important port from which large supplies could be had of the agricultural and handicraft products of the Deccan. The port also received supplies of various mineral, handicraft and agricultural products. Vengurla was one of the ports of the western coast like Surat, Mumbai or Marmugoa and others that also did a roaring business in the commodities. The importance of Vengurla and the ports of Banda and Aronda were because of the Deccan that lay across the Sahyadri. The surplus products of the Deccan were transported to Vengurla and the imports transported back through the passes across the Sahyadri.

The Sahyadri provided access to the Deccan through seven passes which were Nardva, Ghotga, Hanumant, Rangna, Parpoli, Talkat and Ram. The most well known of these were the Ramghat, Parpolighat and the Talkatghat. There were vast and important areas like the districts of Kolhapur, Belgaum, Dharwad, and the greater area of Vijapur state beyond. Many others like Golkonda, which were important centres for the produce of the Deccan, supplied goods for export from Vengurla by an efficient system of roads that lay over the entire area. The Lamanies who were known also as traders all over India transported this produce on the backs of bullocks.

On the west was the Arabian Sea that was part of the Indian Ocean. On the western coast of India were Karachi, Surat, Bharuch, Mumbai, Ratnagiri, Venguria, Marmugoa, Karwar, Cochin and many other ports. On the northern and western side of the sea were the Iranian ports, the Arabian Gulf, Muscat, Aden and other ports on the Red Sea and the eastern coast of Africa. These were the famous ports of the Indian Ocean. As Pearson observes, "The ocean encompasses many more diverse areas, and is much more open, than is the Mediterranean. The inhabitants

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25. *Ibid.*, pp. 25-27.

of its littoral ranged from the primitive east Africans to notoriously skillful Gujarati merchants and courtly sophisticated rulers and governors."[26]

As we have seen, the monsoon winds blow in this region in a given direction in given months in a year. The northeast and southwest monsoons are crucial even today for India's internal economy, as well as sea travel. The former prevail from about November to February. And this season was preeminent-eminent for all travel to the west and south. From June to September came the southwest monsoon, on which India's rainfall depends, and which enabled north and east travel. Thus the season for trade from the west coast to the Arabian Gulf was broadly September to May and from the Arabian Gulf to the western coast, October to February.[27]

The productivity and accessibility of the hinterland of the Deccan, as we have seen, was the important economic consideration for *Vengurla* and Banda ports. These ports exported the cotton textiles, pepper, which was the most valued, cloves and nutmegs which ranked next, raw silk, indigo and salt petre from the interior as well as other goods they got from elsewhere. The goods, which were exported from Vengurla by the Dutch at exorbitant profit margins, show the rich trade which could be made on goods procured from the Deccan. Unfortunately, such scanty evidence concerning Vengurla is the only one available to us of the vast trade which went on for centuries. The Dutch aver that the local merchants did the major portion of the business and at a larger percentage of profits.[28]

The Indian Ocean trade had three great divisions: the Indian coastal trade, the trade between Indian ports and Asiatic and African ports on the west of Vengurla, and the trade between Indian ports and the ports east of India in Myanmar, Malaya and China.[29] The comparatively smaller ships carried the goods for supply to merchants at several ports, big or small. The spices, which were the produce of Malabar and Sri Lanka, were shipped to various ports like Vengurla and were supplied by them to merchants at Surat or Mumbai or to ships coming from abroad. So were shipped the other goods which came from the Deccan through the ghats. The products of Tal Konkan like the coconuts, cashew nuts, areca nuts,

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26. M.N. Pearson, "Introduction :The Subject", in Ashin Das Gupta and M.N. Pearson, ed., *India and the Indian Ocean 1500-1800*, p. 12.
27. *Ibid.*
28. See *infra*, Chapter 2, for Dutch imports and exports from Vengurla and horses imported at Vengurla.
29. Holden Furber, *John Company At Work*, pp. 20-21.

tamarind, kokam, teak, timber, ropes and coconut palms and bamboo products like mats, brooms, and baskets, winnowing pads were also a part of the coastal traffic. Larger ships that came from abroad or went from Vengurla frequented the other two divisions of trade.

Export and import of goods between Desh and West

The Lamanis loaded the oxen with bags full of wheat, sugar, jaggery, cloth, embroidered material and spices and drove them in numbers up to a thousand and more. They traveled with their wives and children and camped before they started at places at the opening of the ghats. These places were guarded for protection by the government and the octroi duty on the goods that were carried by the Lamanies and traders had to be paid. After camping on the other side of the ghats, the caravans went ahead to Vengurla, Banda, Aronda and to other places where the goods were bought for sale locally and for being exported. On their return they took with them the imported horses and goods from the Red Sea, Arabian Gulf and Iran that were in great demand in the Adil Shahi Kingdom of Vijapur.

The trade was carried not only to Vengurla, Banda and Aronda but also to other most important places like Dabol and Rajapur and to other ports down other passes in the mountains. Vengurla was very familiar to the Arabs, Abyssinians and Japanese and later on to the Portuguese, Dutch and English. It afforded safe anchorage to large ships during northerly breezes. But because of a cluster of rocks about twelve miles north-west of Vengurla, the approaches were at all times difficult. The whole coastland was so rugged and broken that safe deep tidal creeks were the natural trade highways.

Arab and South Konkan vessels at Vengurla

There were two classes of vessels that carried on trade, the foreign and local. The foreign ships were the Arab *daus*, belonging to Gwadar, Huma and Chaba. These vessels were of 75 to 150 tons burden with two masts and two or three sails, and a crew of a captain, *sarang* or *tandel*, a carpenter, *nakhoda*, and twenty seamen. Besides meals, the seamen got, in 1880, Rupees eight to ten and the others from Rupees ten to fifteen a month. Their owners, generally also the commanders, were mostly Arabs and Indian Muslims. They generally came from Arabia to Jaitapur about the end of October bringing dates, raisins, almonds, pistachios and mats,

stayed in some port for about two weeks, load with gall nuts, hemp, turmeric and groundnuts and then sail to Malabar or Mumbai to fill there. The captains were generally good sailors and men of much intelligence, guiding their ships by the help of the compass and the quadrant. Though they avoided the roughest seasons, they often weathered very heavy storms.[30]

The small boats in Vengurla were three, the *ulandi*, the *pagar* and the *don*. The boat in commonest use was the *ulandi*, so called from the balance float that, joined to the boat by two spars, lay on the water from two to three metres from the boat's side. *Ulandi*, varying in length from three to five and a half metres, had one mast and one lateen, *Parham*, sail. The *pagar* and the *don* were *phatemari* and *machwa* rowboats. The *pagar*, a hollowed mango trunk, was used either with or without the balance spar, *ulandi*. The long, flat-bottomed *don*, made of *undi*,[31] with, instead of nails, well oiled and dammered hemp and coir yarn fastenings, was seen only in Vengurla. It was the best boat for landing horses. The *shibadi* was a large vessel from 100 to 300 tons. The *phatemari*, a deep narrow vessel of great speed and an excellent sailer, was from twenty-five to forty-five feet long and from 25 to 100 tons burden. It had two masts and three sails, two-yard sails, *parbhan*, and a jib. The *mhangiri* or *suvala* was like the *phatemari*, but smaller from ten to twenty-five tons burden. The *machwas* and *padavs* or *balavs* of a broader and flatter build were from four to eight metres long and from two and a half to ten tons burden. All had two masts and three sails. Except that only *phatemari* carried impressed cotton bales, all took both cargo and passengers. Besides for coast trading, the smaller *machvas* were often used for deep-sea fishing.[32]

Bhatias, Gujjars, Lohanas, Muslims, Parsis or fishermen owned the vessels. Saraswat Brahmans also owned them by other Hindus, Gabits, Kolis and Kharvis and sometimes. Fishermen anxious to own a boat joined two together or formed fishing or trading partnership and took capital from a Saraswat Brahman or Muslim moneylender. Strength of a *shibadi's* crew was, besides the captain, *tandel*, from twenty to twenty-five, of a *phatemari from* fourteen to eighteen, of a *mhangiri* from eight to ten, and of a *machvas* from five to seven hands. Kolis, Bhandaries, Gabits, Bhois, Kharvis, Muslims, the seamen, mostly natives of Harnai and Vengurla,

30. *GBP Sawantwadi*, pp. 170-171.
31. Calophyllum inophyllum wood.
32. *GBP Sawantwadi*, p. 171.

generally belonged to the caste of the owner or captain. These vessels worked only during the fair season, and were entirely laid up during the southwest monsoon. A large *machva*, complete with sails and with one boat, cost from Rupees 1,000 to 1,500 and a *phatemari* from Rupees 1,200 to 2,000. The shipbuilders were generally Hindu carpenters; Sutars and Panchkalshis helped by Gabit fishermen and others were Muslims and Christians. The vessel lasted from 40 to 50 years.[33] Trade was chiefly carried on with Malabar, Mumbai, Cutch, Kathiawar and Arabia.[34] Greek and Roman writers in the early Christian era knew the names of marts on this coast. The writer of the Periplus calls them local trade centres,[35] and mentions that corn, rice, butter, sesamum oil, coarse and fine cotton goods and sugar cane were sent from them sometimes to Arabia or sometimes to Africa.[36] Though no further notice has been traced till in the fifteenth century, under the Bahmani, and afterwards under the Vijapur kings, yet mention is made of a great trade through these ports, the import of horses being specially noticed.[37]

In the sixteenth century, these ports are frequently mentioned by three sets of merchants, *Moors*, probably Arab, Irani and Indian Muslims and *Gehtus*, probably Malabar, Konkan and Deccan Hindus; and Gujratis. Two classes of vessels carried the sea trade. These were the large ships from Mecca, Aden and Ormuz, and smaller coasting craft from Khambhat, Diu and Malabar.[38] The chief trade routes were up the Bankot River, by Mahad and Dabhol, Chiplun and Khed through the Ambaoli pass to Bedar.[39]

Late in the century, the change of capital to Vijapur transferred much of the trade up the Muchkundi River by Satavli through the Amba or Vishalgadh pass by Kolhapur or Panhala to Vijapur and Golkonda.[40] A third route lay from Jaitapur and Rajapur through Bavda and Kolhapur to Vijapur.[41]

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33. *Ibid.*, pp. 171-172.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 172.
35. Vincent's *Commerce of the Ancients*, Vol. II, p. 428, as quoted in *GBP Sawantwadi*, p. 174.
36. *Ibid.*, pp. 282, 423.
37. A. Nikitin (1468-1474), *Major's India, XVth Century*, pp. 20-30. quoted in *GBP Sawantwadii*, p. 174.
38. Stanley's *Barbosa* (1514), pp. 71-72, as quoted in *GBP Sawantwadi*, p. 174.
39. A.K. Naime, "Musalman Remains in the South Konkan" in *The Indian* Antiquary, 1873, Vol. II, p. 282.
40. *Ibid.*, 1874, Vol. III, p. 318.
41. *Ibid.*, p. 320.

Of imports, from the Red Sea and Arabian Gulf, were copper, quicksilver, vermilion and horses; from the Malabar coast, coconuts, betel nuts, spices, copper and quicksilver; from places along the Konkan coast, salt; and from the Deccan and Karnatak, wheat and fine cotton cloth.[42]

With the decline of the Portuguese power and increase of trade by the competition of the English, Dutch and French, Dabhol, Rajapur and Vengurla again became important centres of traffic. In 1611, when the English first visited Dabhol, they found the merchants almost all Muslims, carrying on trade with the Red Sea in ships some as much as 1200 tons burden.[43] The Dabhol people "made a noise of" fine cloth, indigo, and pepper, but showed none. They bought some broadcloth, kerseys, lead bars, iron, ivory and indigo.[44] In 1639, salt and pepper were mentioned as Dabhol's chief articles of trade.[45] In 1649, its pepper and cardamom trade attracted the English Company's factory to Rajapur.[46] In 1660, Vengurla was spoken of as a great place of call for ships from Jakarta, Japan and Sri Lanka on the one side, and the Arabian Gulf and Red Sea on the other. It was said to have been famous for its pepper and cardamom, and it and other ports of the Konkan had much trade in calicoes, silks, grain and coarse lacquer.[47] The fine cloth with gold borders that was shipped from the Konkan ports to Iran is specially mentioned (1634) as brought from the Deccan.[48]

The Dutch arrival at Vengurla

In 1637, the Dutch had negotiated an alliance with the King of Bijapur that they would send their fleet to Goa. It would attack the town of Goa from all sides and capture it with the big army of Vijapur that would be kept ready. For this service they were to receive, besides freedom of toll, half of the *tribute* of "afandigos" and revenues of Goa, and everything that would be found in Goa after the conquest, of goods, gold, silver, merchandise, guns, ammunitions and other utensils, galleons, galleys, ships,

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42. *GBP Sawantwadi*, p. 174.
43. Robert Orme, *Historical fragments of the Mogul Empire of the Marattas and of the English concerns in Indostan from the year MDCLIX*, p. 325.
44. John Harris, *A Compleat Collection of Voyages and Travels*, Vol. I, pp.107 and 119.
45. J. Albert Mandelslo, *The Voyages and Travels into the East-Indies*, p.222.
46. John Bruce, *Annals of the Honorable East-India Company from 1600 to 1708*, Vol. I, pp. 344, 357-368.
47. John Harris, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 360 and Vol. V, p. 249.
48. *Chronista de Tissuario*, Vol. III, p. 221, as quoted by GBP Sawantwadi, p. 175.

yachts and other vessels, none excepted.[49] In order to keep the fleet well supplied with water and provisions and not to run short during the time they were ordered to remain in front of Goa, the ship "Egmont" and a yacht were ordered to go to Vengurla, "which place lies in the kingdom of Visiapour. Our people were well received by the inhabitants and everything could be obtained in abundance, so that if we sent a ship there two hours before day break she could be back at the fleet in the evening with 20 or 25 `leggers' of water, bucks, fowls and country-fruit, and thanks God they could get everything they wanted in abundance."[50] It is further mentioned that Vengurla had plenty of water and provisions at a moderate price, which was especially useful for the fleet with a view to the siege of Goa. It was decided to reinforce the bay of Vengurla so that the Dutch could continuously get their requirements from there without any trouble. Vengurla was considered to be really much important to the general company and without it would be impossible to continue the siege before Goa.[51]

It was decided to dispose of the merchandise which they had carried with them at a reasonable price in Vengurla as soon as a *firman* had been obtained from the king of Vijapur which they were eagerly expecting every day with their ambassador van Twist.[52] They decided to carry on their trade from Vengurla and obtained a *firman*. They built their factory having three stories with a number of rooms. The building was built of laterite stone with thick walls and surrounded by a wall. The factory remained there for a number of years doing trade with the merchants of Vengurla and with their home country and others. They had negotiations with Shivaji and Lakham Sawant about military aid in their warfare but did not take part with either side.

In 1661, the Queen of Vijapur demanded insistently that she should have the Dutch company's ship to go to Mocha, from which she intended to go to Mecca on a pilgrimage to the tomb of Prophet Mohammed. They promised her a passage on one of their ships.[53] The old Queen had informed her men that she would leave Vijapur in January to complete her projected voyage. The King, her son, sent the Dutch at Vengurla an

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49. Dutch Diaries from the Castle of Batavia, *Dag-Register, Nederlandts-India*, in Journal of the Bombay Historical Society, Vol. III, pp. 201-202.
50. *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 189.
51. *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 203.
52. *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 190.
53. *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 243.

authority by which they were exempted from tolls on buying and transporting of cows on behalf of and for the use of the fleet.[54] The Queen came via the Ramghat Pass escorted by a company of soldiers and a paraphernalia of maids and servants, the crockery and furniture and large tents, went through the territory of Konkan Subah, and arrived at Vengurla and went on her voyage in the Dutch ship.

Thus were Vengurla, Banda and Aronda the ports through which the trade of the ghats of Vijapur and Golkonda was exported to the West including the Persian Gulf, the Red Sea and Europe. The whole machinery of merchants, bankers, moneylenders, stockists, scribes, messengers and labourers was busy with their work. And the valuable ships had to be protected by a navy which involved fighting ships and sea worthy warriors. Shipbuilders and carpenters were busy carrying on their trade. The ship chandlers had to provision the ships. And the caravans came with the food and other things that the inhabitants wanted before the rainy season had started in June and continued till about September.

Banda, a famous town

There were other important towns in the territory that were known for the flourishing trade that they carried. Two of them were important as the Terekhol or Banda River served them. The Banda town is on the right bank of the Terekhol creek near its mouth, about ten kilometres south of Sawantwadi. Up to Banda, the river was tidal. Under the Bijapur kings, Banda, then known as Adilabad, was the chief town of a district or s*ubha*, under a minister or *vazir*. In the beginning of the sixteenth century (1514), it was a town of Moors and Gentiles, meaning Muslims and Hindus, with merchants who dealt with traders from the Deccan and from the Malabar Coast. Many ships from different quarters brought rice, coarse millet and vegetables, and took away coconuts, spices, pepper and other drugs to Diu, Aden and Ormuz. There was also export of goods and provisions from the interior.[56] In 1538, Banda was described as better and nobler, both from traffic and size, than Vengurla, admitting galleys at low tide.[56] Nine years later (1547), it *suffered* much by a treaty between the Portuguese and the rulers of Vijayanagara, which provided that all

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54. *Ibid.*
55. Stanley's *Barbosa*, p. 74. as quoted by *GBP Sawantwadi*, p. 463.
56. DeCastro's *Primeiro Roteiro da Costa da India*, p. 221. as quoted by *GBP Sawantwadi*, p. 463.

Vijayanagara goods should be sent to An kola and Henagar instead of to Banda, and that all horses imported by the Portuguese should go to Vijayanagara instead of to Vijapur.[57] In the seventeenth century (1638), it is described as strong and fairly large with very beautiful streets, and a great trade with the Portuguese in pepper and European stuffs.[58] About thirty years later (1670), it was said to be a mighty city, two leagues from Goa and two from Vengurla, with broad streets, many fair buildings and several temples.[59]

Besides the fort, there are the remains of some mosques, wells and tombs. To the south of the river, built of laterite covered with cement, is the Juma mosque measuring forty by eighteen meters. Outside the mosque is a cenotaph of Syed Abdul Kadar Jilani, the Piran-pir or chief saint of Baghdad. A few hundred yards further are the Redi Gumaj and a few remnants of a travelers' home or *musafarkhana*, about 140 metres further is another roofless and ruined mosque with two rows of octagonal plastered stone pillars with carved capital and fine tracery about the arches and windows.[60]

This was the territory of Tal Konkan that was now about to slip out of the hands of the Vijapur Sultans along with their kingdom. Shivaji had defeated them on a number of occasions and established a kingdom out of their territory and of the Mughals. He had crowned himself the Chhatrapati of Hindu Swaraj that included parts of the Desh and the Konkan. Aurangzeb, the Mughal Emperor, who held his sway over his vast territory by his iron will, skillful administration and a military apparatus supported by the vast resources of Hindusthan, had taken the opportunity afforded by the death of Shivaji to conquer his kingdom and those of Vijapur and Golkonda. The Sawants had already defeated the Kudaldeshkar Desai and killed him during the weak rule of the Adilshahi sultan and acquired the title of Sardesai of Kudal and Mahalanihai. It was during this period of warfare in the Mahratta kingdom and conquest of Vijapur by Aurangzeb that the Sawants took the opportunity of carving out the Sardesaiship of Kudal and Bhimgad that in fact did not have to pay tribute to any superior power.

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57. *Col. de Mon. Ined.*, Vol. VII, p. 256. as quoted by *GBP Sawantwadi*, p. 464.
58. *Mendelsic*, p. 215, 223. as quoted by *GBP Sawantwadi*, p. 464.
59. John Ogilby, *Asia, the first part being an accurate Description of Persia and the Several Provinces thereof, The vast Empire of the Great Mogol and other parts of India and their several Kingdoms and Regions etc.*, Vol. V, p. 248.
60. *MSGR*, p. 738.

The territory was prosperous because of the external and internal trade in rich commodities that flowed through Vijapur and Golkonda of the past, and of the Mughals of the present. They were exported by traders who lived in Vengurla, Banda and Aronda and in towns like Sawantwadi and Ponda. The commodities were exported to Iran, Arabian Gulf, Arabia, the Red Sea ports and northeast of Africa and brought back commodities from there. They supplied the goods to the ports along the western coast. The administration and the people were prosperous not only because of the trade but also the external and internal customs, the control of the passes through the mountains and because of the external and internal security which was maintained by the State. Geography had closely linked the South Konkan with the northeast of Karnatak and trade of the Deccan.

Chapter 2

FOUNDATION OF SAWANT BHONSLE DYNASTY TO ITS DECLINE IN EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY.

Adilshahi Kingdom and the Tal Konkan

THE ADIL SHAHI SULTANS, with Vijapur as their capital, established a new kingdom, which lasted from 1489 to 1686, when the Mughal Emperor conquered it, Aurangzeb.[1] The southern part of the Konkan, which was known as Tal Konkan[2] and included Goa, was one of the subhas or provinces of the Adil Shahi kingdom. "A manuscript entitled *Livro que trata das cousas da India e Japao* ... Was published in 1957 at Coimbra. The Chapter on Southern Konkan in it was written in 1548 and states that the northern limit of Southern Konkan is the Kharepatan River and the southern limit is the Chitakul River (Symtacor)."[3] A Portuguese Jesuit priest, Fernao de Ceiros, lived in Goa for many years. His book, *Conquista Temporal e Spiritual de Ceylao* says, "that the Natives call that tract of land below the Gate, *Concao*, and the inhabitants *Concannis* ... But *the most usual thing among these people is to reckon Concao from Banda* which is five leagues to the north of the bar of Goa, *up to Mirzeo*"[4] Thus, the whole of the territory from the Kharepatan river in the north to Chitakul in the south consisted of the Tal Konkan Subah of the Adil Shahs of Vijapur. In 1510, the Portuguese from Ibrahim Adilkhan of Vijapur conquered the city of Goa and Tiswadi and in 1543 he presented the territories of Bardez and Salsette to the Portuguese on certain conditions, which were never fulfilled by the latter.[5]

The Adil Shahs had a Kudaldeshastha Prabhu as the Deshmukh of Kudal. The Sawant Bhonsles, who were the Naiks of Mangaon, had become quite influential. About the middle of the 17th century, they seem to have exploited some issue against the Desai of Kudal. The Sawant Bhonsles were of the same caste as of the Mahrattas, the vast majority of the population of Tal-Konkan who lived as peasants, landowners and

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1. M.A. Nayeem, *External Relations of the Bijapur Kingdom*, p. 20.
2. V.K. Rajwade, *Mahrattyanchya Itihasachim Sadhane*, p. 21.
3. Pandurang S. Pissurlencar, *The Portuguese and the Marathas*, p. 29.
4. *Ibid.*, foot note no. 49, p. 65.
5. Pandurang S. Pissurlencar, *Portuguese Mahratta Relations*, pp. 1 and 42.

warriors of the territory. Lakham Sawant, his brother Fond Sawant and nephew Khem Sawant, who were the leaders of their family, were able to take 12,000 of warriors with them when they captured the Desai of Kudal and were bold enough to put him to death. Lakham Sawant thus got the title of Desai of Kudal, which he tried to get recognized by the Sultan of Vijapur.[6]

Shivaji and his conquest of Tal Konkan

The Sultan of Vijapur as well as the Mughal Emperor of Delhi had a serious problem to tackle with Shivaji, a courageous, resourceful and ingenious leader of the Mahrattas and military commander in the art of guerrilla warfare who had no parallel in the heart of the Sahyadri. Having had a dozen years in capturing some Adilshahi forts and destroying the power of some of his equals, he came to know that Khawas Khan, a powerful noble from Vijapur, had started on a campaign against him and that he was to be joined by Baji Ghorpade of Mudhol and Lakham Sawant and Khem Sawant from the Tal Konkan. Shivaji, by his quick movements, managed to get Baji Ghorpade Mudholkar in a separate engagement and defeated him in a keenly fought battle. Baji Ghorpade and several of his men were killed and Shivaji took Mudhol. He then defeated Khawas Khan who fled back to Vijapur. Then he turned to Tal Konkan and defeated the Sawants, capturing their strongholds and forts, and compelled them to seek refuge in Goa. Shivaji then attacked the 'topicars' of Goa, as the Portuguese were known at that time, which ultimately compelled Lakham Sawant to sue for peace.[7] The treaty was signed in 1658 and according to it; half the revenues of the territory of the Sawants should go to Shivaji, which was to be collected by his agents. The other half should go to Lakham Sawant. He had to keep an infantry of 3,000 ready for service and garrison the forts.[8]

The killing of Afzul Khan by Shivaji in 1660 and the plundering of Rajapur and burning of Dabhol brought about the combined attack of Vijapur, the Siddi of Janjira and the Sawant Bhonsles against Shivaji. In May 1663, Shivaji took Kudal, marched to Vengurla and then further south. Lakham Sawant and the Adil Shahi havaldar surrendered to him Maneri,

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6 . Vithal P. Pingulkar, *Sawantwadi Sansthancha Itihas*, p. 7.

7. *Ibid.*, Shivaji's letter, Old Documents, pp. 7 and 8.

8. *Ibid.*, Treaty of 1658 between Shivaji and Khem Sawant and Lakham Sawant, Old Documents, pp. 8 and 9.

Pedne, Dicholi that is Bhatagram and Sakhali that is Satari. Sometime in May 1664, the combined forces of Adil Shah and of Lakham Sawant defeated Shivaji's forces. It was for this victory that Mohammed Adil Shah, the Badshah of Vijapur, with Malwan and the title of Sardesai and the Palace and the octroi of the main road in perpetuity, rewarded Lakham Sawant, on the report of Ajij Khan Sarnobat, the Subhedar of Tal Konkan.[9] And again, in 1664, Mohammed Shah gave him Masura, Malwan, Pendur, Ghavnale, Malgao, Math, Hodavde, Aravali, Redi and Aronda.[10] And he sent him robes of honour.[11]

But in December 1664, a surprise attack was made by Shivaji, which resulted in the defeat of the combined forces of Vijapur, Lakham Sawant and the Desais.[12] Lakham Sawant and the other Desais took refuge in Goa but continued to raid Shivaji's conquest. Lakham Sawant had fought Shivaji alongside Khavas Khan till the end and did not run away to Goa till December 13, 1664.[13] In March 1666, Shivaji besieged the fort of Phonda but Lakham Sawant and the Desais of Pedne and Dicholi forced Shivaji to call off the siege with the secret help of the Portuguese.[14]

Shivaji had to be occupied during this time with the strict cognizance that was taken by the Mughal Empire against his aggressive activities. Shaista Khan, Aurangzeb's uncle, had come with a large army to Pune and had been attacked at night in the centre of the vast imperial camp by Shivaji and had been transferred to Bengal by the Emperor. Sawai Jaisingh, the Maharajah of Jaipur, had replaced him, captured a number of forts and compelled Shivaji to go to Agra. Shivaji had escaped from the custody he had been kept in, a brave, courageous and cool-headed deed, and ultimately got back and conquered his territories which had been lost by the treaty of Purandar.

Shivaji, on hearing of Verspreet's arrival at Vengurla in 1663, had expressed his intention through a spy of bringing Vengurla under his rule but he had assured the Dutch that he had no ill feeling towards their company. The Dutch had declined the request of Lakham Sawant, who

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9. *Ibid.*, Farman of Mohammed Shah Badshah of Vijapur throne of 1664, Old Documents, pp. 9 and 1
10 *Ibid.*, Farman of Mohammed Shah Badshah of Vijapur, Old Documents, pp. 10 and 11.
11. *Ibid.*, Farman of Vijapur Badshah, Old Documents, p. 11.
12 Pissurlencar, *The Portuguese and the Marathas*, p. 43.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 43.
14 *Ibid.*, p. 45.

was the protector of Vengurla and a ruler of lower countries, for a loan of 2,000 pagodas and 2,400 lbs. of ammunition in 1663.[15] Lakham Sawant had been against the Dutch ever since. And on September 15, 1667, Naroba, the nephew of Lakham Sawant, having taken fright of Shivaji's movements, went to Vengurla, caused a riot and molested the Dutch. The Dutch protested against this to the Portuguese and probably complained to Shivaji also.[16] In November 1667, Shivaji, therefore, attacked and plundered a number of villages in Bardez.[17] This ended in the treaty of December 5, 1667 with the Portuguese[18], which resulted in the expulsion of Lakham Sawant and the Desais from Goa in June 1668.[19] Lakham Sawant offered his allegiance to Shivaji and was reinstated on his ancestral Jagir on the condition that he would live at Kudal and neither build nor repair the forts, nor keep a large body of troops.[20]

Aurangzeb invades the Deccan

The Adilshahi kingdom was on its last legs because of a weak king. A minor followed him with a regent ruling in his name. Aurangzeb, who had been waiting for an opportunity to attack and conquer the two kingdoms of Adil Shah of Vijapur and Qutub Shah of Golkonda as well as the Mahratta kingdom of Chhatrapati Shivaji, who had died in 1680, took this as a golden opportunity to start on a campaign in the Deccan. Having tricked his fourth son, Mohammed Akbar, who had revolted against him and crowned himself as the Mughal Emperor on January 1, 1681, and his Rajput ally, Durgadas, of the support of their army at Ajmer, Aurangzeb forced them to flee to Sambhaji's court for refuge. In January 1683, Muhammad Akbar and Durgadas went to Adilabad or Banda in the territory of Tal Konkan.[21]

Sambhaji, who had conquered Bardez and Salsette from the Portuguese, was besieging the island of Goa. The Viceroy of Goa and his

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15. Dutch Diaries from the Castle of Batavia, *Dag-Register, Nederlandts-India*, in Journal of the Bombay Historical Society,, Vol. III, No. 1, March 1930-32, pp. 89-90.
16. Panduranga Pissurlencar, *Antigualhas*, p.123.
17. *Ibid.*
18. Pissurlencar, *The Portuguese and the Mahrattas*, p. 50.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 55.
20. S.K. Mhamai, *The Sawants of Wadi*, p. 6.
21. Pandurang S. Pissurlencar, *Portuguese-Mahratte Sambandha*, pp. 51, 91-92.

officials had taken refuge in the Bom Jesus church in which the body of St. Francis Xavier had been kept.[22]

When Sambhaji learnt that Shah Alam was approaching Tal Konkan, he withdrew to Raigad on January 2, 1684.[23] Shah Alam came down the Ramghat on January 7, 1684 and camped in the Tal Konkan as is obvious from *Jedhe Shakavali*.[24] His army consisted of 40,000 horsemen, 60,000 foot, 1,900 elephants and 2,000 camels, according to the *Relacao Verdadeira*.[25] Sambhaji was compelled to lift the siege of Goa.[26] The Mughals burnt the town of Dicholi and razed to the ground the mansions of Akbar and Sambhaji.[27]According to Ishwardas, a biographer of Aurangzeb, it was a big township and the English, the French, the Dutch and the Portuguese had built palatial houses in it.[28]A beautiful Catholic church was built in the town by a Goan bishop.[29] Under the Subhedar of Dicholi was the territory covered by Dicholi, Satari, Pedne, Maneri and Banda except the Kudal area.[30] A *Vatan* deed mentions that the Mughals demolished a temple consecrated to Rama at Pilgaon and defiled and destroyed the idols.[31]The Mughals also burnt Kudal and Banda and plundered Vengurla.

Several Desais were opposed to Sambhaji at that time. The Desais of Ponda, Satari, Dicholi and Pedne were living in Goa and Khem Sawant of Kudal and the Desais were up in revolt against Sambhaji. A considerable part of their *vatan* revenue was taken over by Sambhaji because of the war situation. They were formerly paying the Adilshahi two-thirds of the revenue and one-third was kept by the Desais. For example, the revenue of Dicholi Mahal was 22,000 hons, which is equal to rupees 88,000, of which the Vijapur Sultan got 15,000 hons and the Desai 7,000. Khem Sawant of Kudal had the strongest army among the Tal Konkan Desais. According to the information of Keshav Prabhu, he had in his

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22. Padre Francisco de Souza, *O Oriente Conquistado,* pp. 400-402, quoted by Pissurlencar, *The Portuguese and the Marathas*, p.90-91 and note No. 7.
23. Pissurlencar, *The Portuguese and the Marathas*, p. 91.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 93.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 95.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 95.
27. Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, vol. 4, pp. 340, 349.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 304.
29. *The Travels of Abbe Carre*, Vol. I, p. 202.
30. Biblioteca da Ajuda, Lisbon, *Cartas da India*, an account of the Konkan Desais, as quoted by Pissurlencar in *The Portuguese and the Marathas,* pp. 96, 117n.
31. *Bharatmitra*, Vol. XXII, No. 3, March 1950.

service 2,000 soldiers in 1684. On August 13, 1688, the Viceroy permitted the Desais who were living in Goa to take up service with the Mughals. And so they went and saw Bahadur Khan at Belgaum who received them with honour and employed them. In January 1689, Nawab Bahadur Khan handed over to Khem Sawant the order of the Mughal Emperor conferring on him the Sardeshmukhi of Kudal. The Viceroy congratulated him in a letter dated February 14, 1689. The Mughal General, Abdul Raza Khan recommended that the family of Khem Sawant living in Bardez should be allowed to go to Kudal and the Portuguese gave the permission.[32] Mohammed Akbar had ultimately managed to sail to Isphahan on a British ship, which he boarded in February 1687 at Rajapur.[33]

Sambhaji had been arrested and cruelly put to death by Aurangzeb on March 11, 1689. Sambhaji's wife, Yesubai, and son, Shahu, remained in Aurangzeb's custody. But, in spite of this, the Mahratta war of independence continued, with Rajaram, the second son of Shivaji, and his wife, Tarabai, giving the lead. Great generals like Santaji Ghorpade and Dhanaji Jadhav led the Mahrattas in their glorious campaign against the Mughals. And the terms of war had changed against the cool generalship of Aurangzeb and the might of the large empire. Aurangzeb died in 1707 in the Deccan and Shahu was released by his successor to make a claim to the throne as a competitor to Tarabai and her son.

Khem Sawant II establishes himself as independent Sardesai

Khem Sawant was living in Bardez at this time. From there he went to Kudal with the Mughal army In June 1689 and conquered the Banda fort.[34]Maneri, Satari and Dicholi had already come under his sway as he said in a letter of April 11, 1689 that he was guarding the forts of Dicholi and Satari on behalf of the Mughals.[35]The importance of Khem Sawant Bhonsle naturally increased among the other Desais of the Tal Konkan. He had eight *galbats*, which were armed ships and a number of cargo ships under his command in 1695.[36] In subduing some of the territories, Khem Sawant became the Sardesai of the five mahals of Kudal, Maneri, Pedne, Dicholi and Satari.[37]Although Khem Sawant was under the service

32. Pissurlencar, *The Portuguese and the Marathas*, pp. 100-104.
33. *Ibid.*, p. 106.
34. Goa Archives, *Livro dos reis vizinhos*, No. 4, pp. 76-77.
35. *Ibid.*, p. 74.
36. Pissurlencar, Panduranga S., *Assentos*, IV, pp. 496-497.
37. Goa Archives, *Livro dos reis vizinhos*, No. 5, p. 47.

of the Mughals, he often acted in his individual interest. Khem Sawant renounced Mughal sovereignty in 1696 and even struck his own coinage in rupees in his own mint.[38]

Thus, after 1696, Khem Sawant Bhonsle had under his command the territory from Malwan and south of the river Karli to the north and the mahals including Pedne, Dicholi and Satari to the south. The Sahyadri with Amboli, Gele and Chowkul bound the eastern side, which were on the top of the mountains. On the west was the Arabian Sea stretching from Malwan in the north to Kolwal in the south. Phonda or Antruj Mahal was still in dispute but in spite of the attempts of Khem Sawant to get control of it, he could not succeed and it was handed over to the chief of Sunda because the Portuguese were of the opinion that Sunda was interested in trading, and the Phonda Mahal should be handed over to it. The only territory, which the Portuguese possessed in Tal Konkan, was Goa with Tiswadi, Bardez and Salsette. The southern border of Khem Sawant II's territory was the Mandovi River. As has been stated in the first chapter, the extent of Khem Sawant's territory was about 440,300 hectares or 1700 square miles and it contained 427 villages.[39]

The external and internal coastal trade from Vengurla

He held the port of Vengurla which was known for centuries not only for its trade to the north and south of the west coast of India but also to Iran, Arabia, the eastern coast of Africa and the Red Sea. He also had the ports of Aronda, Banda and Nivti. Vengurla, like all other ports of India, was famous up to about 1750 in carrying out import and export trade with Malacca, China and Japan on the east and the various ports on the west. It is not possible to measure the ups and downs of the export and import trade because of the non-availability of statistical information. But it is possible to have an idea of the goods that were being exported and imported and the extent of them. We can have information about the manufacture of the exported goods. We know the way they were transported to Vengurla. We know the goods that were imported and re-exported or transported to the various towns and capitals of the kingdoms where they were in demand. And we are acquainted with the export and import merchants who financed the trade and the sophisticated system of financing that prevailed in the country at that time. The export and import

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38. *Ibid.*, No. 6, p. 43.
39. See *infra*, Chap. 1.

trade which was carried on by Portugal and the East India Companies of England, France, Holland and Denmark was certainly less than the volume of trade that was carried on by the Indian merchants up to about 1750.

We have described earlier how Vengurla and the smaller ports of Tal Konkan had boats and ships through which internal trade with the western coast of India and foreign trade with Jakarta, Japan and Sri Lanka on the east and Iran, Arabian Gulf, the Red Sea and the north-eastern coast of Africa on the west was carried on extensively.[40]

Indian traders from Tal Konkan including Saraswats, Vaishyas *or* Vanis, Muslims, Gujratis from southern Gujarat, Malabar and people from across the ghats as well as Arabs and Irani indulged in extensive trade in the various Indian products and foreign goods. By about the end of the 17th century when Khem Sawant II got control upon Vengurla and the four mahals, he naturally had the advantage of the overseas and coastal trade through Vengurla, Nivti, Aronda and Banda. In spite of the trade of the Portuguese, English, French and the Dutch, who, as we have noticed earlier, had built palatial houses in Dicholi, Indian traders had a large and lucrative trade up to about 1750, and the foreigners could not expect to match it. The western nations had much better commercial and naval ships with which the Portuguese used to enforce the *cartase* system to control the sea-lanes and this system the Indian empires and kingdoms did subscribe to. But besides the acknowledgement of the system by taking passes and paying the money reluctantly, they found that it did not affect the trade substantially. The *Mughal Empire, the Vijapur and Golkonda sultans and the Indian merchants took the cartases* till the other European powers eclipsed the system of *cartases* of the Portuguese.

Commerce and enrichment of the State

There were great advantages that were derived by the State in the development of commerce in its jurisdiction. Overseas merchants and those belonging to other kingdoms had to take the permission of the king and from the assignee in case the area had been assigned to an official.[41]A passport had to be obtained if a person had to make a

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40. See *infra*, Chapter 1.

41. *The English Factories in India* (1618-69), ed. W. Foster, p. 19; Johann van Twist, 'Report from the Chief (Dutch) Factor and Fiscal John van Twist, containing the principal events of his mission to the King of Visiapour ... From January 1 to March 31, 1637', trans. P.M. Joshi, *Journal of Indian History*, XXXIV (2), August 1956, pp. 127-128.

journey.[42]There were the various duties or taxes that were demanded at a number of places. There were *zakat* or transit and custom duties to be paid at the borders to different kingdoms and even the jurisdiction of different nobles. Octroi or market duties had to be paid where the goods were sold, and cesses to be paid to officers of the market.[43]Every kingdom had its mints and issued coins in the name of the king. But there was no unified system of coinage in any kingdom. Coins issued by previous dynasties and other kingdoms were all current side by side with those of the current dynasty. They were exchanged with one another at their intrinsic value. When the Peshwas were defeated by the British, they found at least thirty-eight kinds of gold coins and one hundred and twenty-seven kinds of silver coins circulating in the Bombay Presidency alone,[44]apart from various copper coins and cowries. Khem Sawant II started his own mint at Dicholi in 1695.

The state had to maintain *dharmashalas* at the places of entrance to the ghats, as well as the places at the end of them. They had to appoint Sardars or *fouzdars* at both the ends of the ghats to ensure the safety of the passengers. A hereditary officer called *ghatpande* was appointed at every *ghat* between the Deccan and Konkan to protect the *ghat* for passengers.[45]They also promoted the establishment of markets in towns and large villages. The merchant who started a new market was appointed the hereditary headman or *sete* of the market with a separate hereditary accountant or *mahajan* of it. They were entitled to collect certain customary perquisites from all the merchants and shopkeepers working at the market.[46]

Shivaji is stated to have said, 'Merchants are the ornaments of the kingdom and the glory of the king. They are the cause of the prosperity of the kingdom. All kinds of goods, which are not available, come into the kingdom. That kingdom becomes rich. In times of difficulties whatever debt is necessary is available. For this reason the respect due to merchants should be maintained. In the capital market great merchants should be

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42. Johann van Twist, *op. cit.*, p. 117.
43. H. Fukazawa, 'Maharashtra and the Deccan', in Tapan Raichaudhuri and Irfan Habib, ed., *The Cambridge Economic History of India, Vol. I c. 1200 - c. 1750*, pp. 201-202.
44. M.G. Ranade, 'Currencies and Mints under Mahratta Rule', *Journal of the Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XX (LV), Bombay, 1899, p. 192.
45. A.R. Kulkarni, *Maharashtra in the Age of Shivaji*, pp. 208, 217-18.
46. I, H. Fukazawa, *op. cit.*, p. 202.

induced to come and settle."[47]It is possible that because of this policy the Gujaratis and Marwaris started migrating to Maharashtra in the later half of the seventeenth century.[48]

There were many creeks in Konkan, which were apparently forded with the help of local authorities. Similarly, there were many pathways and short cart tracks in the Konkan that were obviously looked after by the local authorities.

Kempsant's navy

It was very important for Khem Sawant II to have a navy to protect the trade which he wanted to build with the western coast and beyond to the west and east. The first mention of a strong navy that he possessed is given in 1696. The forests of the Tal Konkan provided the timber and wood that was necessary and the ropes could be easily had from rope makers who used for it the choir of the coconuts. The *dhavads* made iron fastenings and the carpenters worked on the wood. There were expert shipbuilders who could make *padaws* as well as large *galbats*, which could carry guns and were driven by sails. All varieties of ships could be constructed and, if there was any need for expert help, they could be hired from other centres like Kalyan, Bhivandi or Vasai who were known for their skill in shipbuilding. And, what is more important, they could get shipbuilders with the experience of building ships from Goa. Although no account exists which gives a description of the way the navy was constructed, there are accounts available about the way Shivaji built his navy from shipbuilders in Kalyan, Bhivandi and Vasai.

The navy, which he had, was known as Kempsant's navy in the Diary of the East India Company in Bombay. This name is continued in *Public Department Diary* of the East India Company for several decades after Khem Sawant II had died. In fact, it is the navy of Kempsant with which the President of the East India Company decided to have the first treaty of friendship with Sawantwadi in the year 1730 against the threatening power of the Angrey, the admiral of the Mahrattas.[49]The

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47. S.V. Puntambekar, trans., A Royal Edict on the Principles of State Policy and Organisation ... otherwise called Ramchandrapant Amatya's Rajaniti dated A.D. 1716, p. 31, as quoted in A.R. Kulkarni, *Maharashtra in the Age of Shivaji*, pp. 206-207.

48. J.M.Campbell *et al.*, ed., *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, several vols., Vol. No. XVIII, Part I, p. 273.

49. *Maharashtra State Archives, Public Department Diary*, 1720, No. I A, October 15, 1720; 1724, No. 2 A, November 16, 1724; 1736, No. 9 B, April 24, 1736 etc.

Portuguese took serious note of it and defeated it in the keenly fought battle about the islands on the southern border of Sawantwadi.

Trunk roads connecting towns of India to ports

There were the well-frequented roads, which connected the various important and greater ports of the western and eastern coast of the Deccan and the important towns of India. These included a road, which connected Vijapur and Golconda to Belgaum. And, further on, Belgaum was connected to Vengurla and Goa through Amboli and Chowkul. It went further to Ramghat through the Sahyadri, a well-constructed *ghat*, and reached Bhedshi near Parma below the *ghat*. And it proceeded via Maneri and Sasoli to Banda and thence straight to Malgaon, Talavde, Tulas and Vengurla. Another road from Belgaum went to Khanapur that had connection with Dharwad, Hubli, Haliyal and many more important places. The road went from Khanapur through Mangelighat in the Sahyadri to Bhedshi and followed the same road as noted above to Vengurla. There were so many other passes through the Sahyadri like Talkatghat, Parpolighat, Rangnaghat, Hanumantghat, Ghotgaghat and Nardwaghat which were not so famous as the Ramghat but were serviceable to a large extent. They were connected with Sawantwadi, as the map of the middle of the nineteenth century shows, and in turn, Sawantwadi was connected to Malgaon with a road three miles long through a short ghat.

Of the trade links maintained between the two coasts, one lay from Surat southeastwards to Aurangabad. Then this road went to Ashti and Golconda to Masulipatam. There were other roads that connected Golconda to Vengurla and Goa. These trade routes provide evidence that "there was an elaborate infrastructure to facilitate the growth of an integrated market covering extensive parts of Hindustan, Bengal, Rajasthan, Gujarat, Malwa and the Deccan both east and west. ... their alignment does indicate the extent to which places in the deep interior, and not merely a few major emporia or centres of luxury production, were involved in the inter-regional exchange of commodities."[50]

Vanjari tandas transported the goods

Transporters, who were called the Banjaras and were known as Vanjaris in Maharashtra and the Konkan, traded corn, rice, pulses and

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50. T. Raychaudhuri, 'Inland Trade' in Raychaudhuri and Habib, *CEHI* I, pp. 338-39.

salt. They lived in *tandas* or camps. A *Vanjari* caravan sometimes had between 12,000 and 20,000 bullocks capable of carrying 1,600 to 2,700 tons. They let them graze in the open fields.[51]They were sometimes hired by merchants, "but most commonly they are merchants themselves, buying of graine where it is Cheape to be had and carreinge it to places where it is dearer, and from thence againe relade themselves with any thinge that will yield benefitt in other places..."[52]Quite obviously, the *tandas* were able to meet the increased demand for transport whenever there was sudden increase in demand for goods.[53]

European traders have frequently noted that their purchases of textiles accounted for a mere fraction of the total trade, the bulk being bought up by Indian and other Asian merchants for other parts of the sub-continent and the overland trade to west and central Asia. The cotton fabrics offered on the market covered a very wide spectrum price wise and were hence evidently meant for different categories of purchasers. The famous *chit* could cost anything between Rs. 16 and 60 the *corge* of twenty pieces.[54]

Traders, merchants, hundies and sarafs

But each class of goods had a separate broker or *dalal* who paid money to those who had sold and received it from those that had bought and charged commission of 1 to 2 per cent according to the class of goods.[55]The trading community belonged to a certain group of castes - Baniyas or Vaishyas, Bohras, Parsees, Hindu or Jain Marwaris, Kshatris, Chettis, Komatis and Muslims. On the western coast, the Vaishyas and Muslims were the main traders with Banias from Gujarat who had settled down in the area.[56]

Commodities were procured either through spot purchase or advance contract known as the system of *dadni*.[57]The *hundi* or bill of exchange promising payment after a specific period at a particular place and allowing a discount which included interest, insurance (*vima*) charges

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51. *Ibid.*, p. 331.
52. Peter Mundy, *The Travels of Peter Mundy*, vol. II, pp. 95-96.
53. T. Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 331.
54. *Ibid.*
55. *Ibid.*, p. 342.
56. *Ibid.*, p. 343.
57. *Ibid.*, p. 344.

and cost of transmission of money. In major commercial transactions, *hundis*, rather than cash, increasingly became the standard form of payment. In long-distance trade, this form of payment reduced the risks involved in the transmission of cash to distant places. A market in saleable *hundis* developed and the business was in the hands of the professional moneychangers - the *sarafs* or shroffs - who thus acquired a new and crucial role as commercial bankers, providing a specialized service as suppliers of credit.[58]

Urban industries

The goods, which the traders dealt in both in internal and external trade, were, besides the food items, the cotton and silk woven textiles. Aurangabad, for instance, was famous in the seventeenth century for white cotton and silk-stuff, and Burhanpur for fine white and printed cloth, which was exported in quantities by Iranian and Armenian merchants to Iran, Arabia and Turkey. Printed cloth was produced in large quantities in cities of the Qutub Shahi kingdom and it was claimed to be the best to be found in India. All sorts of calicoes were manufactured by them which were as cheap and plentiful as in any other part of India, but different in texture and pattern from those of other regions. The painted cloth of these cities due to a special dyestuff called *chay*, which was produced only in the eastern Deccan, and monopolized by the king, was quite famous all over India. On the western coast, Chaul was famous for fine linens and silk cloth till about 1670. The weaving industry was also known to be excellent in Bhivandi. There were other towns, which were known to traders for the manufacture of swords, daggers and lances, paper making, and brass works but they were of secondary importance to cloth in trading value.[59]

Dutch imports and exports from Vengurla

Some idea of the goods the Dutch imported and exported from Vengurla is available from the Dutch records. The sale of goods imported by the Dutch into Vengurla was to suffice for the local maintenance costs of the factory. They had also to meet the cost of servicing the blockading fleet at Goa. They had also to pay for buying the variety of goods that they exported to the European and the Asian markets. The sale of goods was organized through one or two local merchants who earned their

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58. *Ibid.*, p. 346.
59. H. Fukazawa, *op. cit.*, pp. 310-311.

commission of one per cent on the value of the goods sold.[60]The rates of gross profits they earned in 1664 were 517 per cent on cloves, 522 per cent on mace, 1289 per cent on nutmeg, 56 per cent on lead, 37 per cent on vermilion and 123 per cent on copper.[61]

Traditionally, Vengurla and Iran had a considerable amount of trade with each other. The Dutch company's staple items were the export of pepper and cardamom. But they soon found out that they could not always stand up to the competition with the Konkani and other Indian merchants who traditionally did business with the Iranians. The Company discovered in 1639 that they had paid, on an average, 20 to 30 per cent more for its pepper supplies than what the Indian merchants had paid.[62] As far as the cardamom trade was concerned, their position was better because they had made a gross profit of 72 per cent in 1649.[63]In the course of 1650's, coarse textiles, especially dungarees, took the place of pepper as a staple item. The sale of this item was reported to be good and the profit margin reasonable.[64]

Small quantities were sent from Vengurla to Coromandel, Shri Lanka, Batavia and Tonkin. The goods sent to Coromandel included elephants and saltpetre and the principal item sent to Shri Lanka was Kanara rice.[65]

Only cotton yarn was exported from Vengurla to Holland, as it was extremely cheap there. Fairly large quantities of it were exported from Vengurla from about 1650 onward.[66]For example, the Dutch exported 154,000 pounds of it, and of this, 29,000 pounds were sent out to Holland and 25,000 pounds to Tonkin.[67]

Thus the exports from the west coast of India to Iran, Arabia, east Africa and the Mediterranean included spices from south India, cinnamon and cloves from Sri Lanka which were stacked as transit goods, woods,

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60. W. Ph. Coolhaas, ed., *Generale Missiven van Gouvemeurs-Generalen Raden aan Heren XVII de Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie*, Vol. 4, p. 577, as quoted by Om Prakash, 'The Dutch Factory at Vengurla in the Seventeenth Century', in A.R. Kulkarni and others, ed., *Mediaeval Deccan History.*
61. *Batavia Dagh-Register*, September 1664, p. 375; October 1664, p. 449, as quoted by Om Prakash, in A.R. Kulkarni, *op. cit.*
62. *Generale Missiven*, Vol. II, December 18, 1639, p. 33, as quoted by Om Prakash, *op. cit.*
63. *Ibid.*, December 31, 1649, p. 378.
64. *Batavia Dagh-Register*, August 1664, p. 322, as quoted by Om Prakash, *op. cit.*
65. *Ibid.*, September 1641, p. 419.
66. *Ibid.*, October 1664, p. 441; December, 1664, pp. 566, 568.
67. *Ibid.*, August 1664, p. 319; December 1664, pp. 566, 568.

sugar, dye-stuffs and precious stones. There was also a great export of finished textile goods of fine and coarse quality, rice and other cereals and coconuts. The imports included perfumes, finished cloths, gold and some precious stones.[68]

Horses imported at Vengurla

Importing horses from Arabia, Syria and Turkey was important from the days of Vijayanagara. The Portuguese horse trader, Fernao Nuniz, visited the kingdom for three years during 1530s. He tells us about the dependence of its cavalry upon foreign trade. He says the King bought 13,000 horses from Ormuz, either dead or alive, at 1,000 *pardaos* for three horses. For the horses that had died at sea, the tail was shown, and he paid for them as if they were alive.[69]The imported horses were transported to several west coast ports and supplied to various kingdoms over the Sahyadri. The *don*, who was the most suitable boat for landing horses and was found only in Vengurla, shows important trading in horses at this port.[70]There is a condition in the treaty of 1740 of Sawantwadi and the Portuguese that ships belonging to the Sardesai which go to Muscat every year to bring horses should be allowed to go by the Portuguese after examining the stamp paper and the seal.[71] Khem Sawant was thus able to continue the prosperous external and internal trade through Vengurla, Aronda and Banda by the peace he introduced through the whole territory. And these conditions lasted till about 1750 when there was a sudden decline in the external trade all over India when it was not possible to sell the industrial product of India in the traditional monopolistic markets that our country had enjoyed through centuries.

Rajaram died on March 2, 1700 and was succeeded by Shivaji, a minor son, with Tarabai as the Regent. The war of the Mughals with the Mahratta was to go on for seven years more. The relations of Khem Sawant with Tarabai were easy and there was to be no interference in his internal affairs from her side.

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68. Burton Stein, 'South India' in *CEHI*, I, p. 41.
69. Burton Stein, 'Vijayanagara' in *CEHI*, I, pp. 117-118.
70. See *infra*,, Chapter I.
71. *Bharat Itihas Sanshodhak Mandal Quarterly*, Document 28, copy of proposed Treaty of February 17, 1740 between the Sardesai and the Portuguese, Vol. 13, p. 25.

Border war with Portuguese

The navy of Khem Sawant, which looted their ships, worried the Portuguese. They thought of the strategic importance of certain places in Khem Sawant's territory on the northern bank of the Mandovi River and wanted to possess them.[72]

In July 1705, the Portuguese turned to Amona, which was situated to the east of the river Mandovi at a short distance from its bank. Opposite Amona, on the west of the river, is the island of Juva, which was called Santo Estevam by the Portuguese. Khem Savant II, in defence, blockaded the Mandovi River, making it difficult for the Portuguese to attack Amona. But the Portuguese ships were superior both in tonnage and guns and could clear the blockade. The Portuguese then attacked the Amona fort and captured it. They also attacked Valvai, which they captured and leveled to the ground. In December 1705, the Portuguese attacked Dicholi, a strategically important stronghold of the Bhonsles, with artillery. The fort had surrendered at the time but it was captured again by Khem Sawant II after some years and rebuilt.[73]

In 1706, Khem Sawant II had captured the islands of Kharjuvem and Paneli from the Portuguese. These islands were important for the defence of Goa and were claimed by the Portuguese as a donation by Aurangzeb to them. In 1706, the Portuguese attacked the islands with their navy and land forces. The Bhonsles stoutly resisted them but were ultimately compelled to surrender them. The Portuguese artillery was again the most effective weaponry to compel the Bhonsles to surrender the islands together with the navy, which they could not match.[74]

Sanad of Chhatrapati Shahu and Sunderwadi

Thus, by the end of his career, Khem Sawant II had lost the strategic islands of Amona, Juva or Santo Estevam, Kharjuvem and Paneli. But he had been the Sardesai of Kudal and Mahalanihai that are of Kudal including Malwan, Warad and Masure, Banda, Maneri, Pedne, Dicholi and Sankhali. He was the most powerful among the Desais and possessed an army and a navy, which was sufficiently powerful to maintain his independence.

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72. S.K.Mhamai, *The Sawants of Wadi*, p. 15.
73. *Ibid.*, pp. 15-18.
74. *Ibid.*, pp. 18-19.

Tarabai was quite satisfied with allowing him to collect mokasa from the territory because of the friendship, which she cherished in those days of the war of independence of the Mahrattas. And when Shahu defeated her, Khem Sawant II transferred his allegiance to him. According to the Sanad of Swaraj brought by Peshwa Balaji Vishwanath, Shahu was the sovereign of Kudal, both de jure and de facto. Shahu made a vatan grant of Kudal, Banda, Maneri, Pedne, Dicholi and Sankhali mahals to Khem Sawant II in recognition of his loyalty in 1707. This was virtual independence as the attention of Shahu's Peshwas was concentrated on the north.[75]

Khem Sawant II had his thana at Charatha. He had a bungalow on the slope of a hill, which is known as Narendra. It had a road from Malgaon across the hill. At the foot of the hill was the bazaar, which is known as Junabazar now. He decided to have his "nava kot" on the place to the west of the "juna kot" and had about three-fourths of a mile in area ear-marked for it. It had hills on three sides and they were thickly wooded. There were small ghaties, which connected the town to Malgaon, Insuli and Akeri. On the fourth side it was decided to have a moat. The centre of the town was occupied by a tank, which was known as Moti Talao. On the east bank of the Moti Talao was the palace, which was fortified on the sides that were necessary.

The people were given land free of revenue. The "ashrits" like the Rajpurohit Kolambekar, the Shastri Devasthali, the Puranik Jambhekar and in charge of the fort Tatkar were kept near the Palace. There were only three "darakdars", Sabnis, Chitnis and Khasnis. Daftardar Rangnekar was to look after income and expenditure accounts. Potnis to look after the Treasury, Pagnis to look after the Paga or the cavalry, Kotnis to look after the provisions, Tatnis to look after the walls of the fort and Phadnis to look after "barnishi" or accounts were appointed. The "ashrits" or protected ones were Karade Brahmins and the Darakdars were Goudsaraswat Brahmins who belonged to the Shenvi caste. Ram Dalvi was Senapati, and Kansawant Gurbutkar, Mudsawant Karivdekar, Bhojsawant, Rupsawant Mangaonkar and others were Sardars. The sardars, darakdars and ashrits were hereditary.[76]

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75. Pingulkar, *op. cit.*, Sanad of Shahu Chhatrapati, 1707, Old Documents, Document No. 45, p. 34.
76. Pingulkar, *op. cit.*, pp.

He ruled for thirty-four years, having died in 1709. He had only one wife who gave him three daughters and no son. There is his matha at Sawantwadi in which no woman is allowed to enter.

Fond Sawant II : 1709-1738

He was succeeded by his nephew, Fond Sawant Bhonsle, who was 42 years of age. He had to deal with only five neighbours, Shahu Maharaj, the Mahratta King to whom Khem Sawant II had sworn allegiance, the Kolhapur Maharaja Sambhaji and his mother Tarabai, Kanhoji Angre who had become famous as the Mahratta Admiral, the Portuguese at Goa and the East India Company. Fond Sawant II had inherited a state in which the Desais were well subordinate to his authority and the people closely loyal to his political power.

The formidable Kanhoji Angre was in Konkan territory immediately to the north of Sawantwadi State. He had a strong navy, which was the terror of the naval powers on the western coast like the English, the Siddi, the Sawant Bhonsale and the Portuguese. Kanhoji Angre died on July 4, 1729 and was succeeded by Sekoji Angre. The British East India Company found it difficult to cope with the losses because of the Angres and so signed the 1730 treaty with Fond Sawant. This was the first treaty, which was signed by the British with an Indian State. It was a treaty of peace and friendship, which was signed between Robert Cowan, President and Governor of Bombay and Bapajee Naique, Chief Commander at Sea for Phond Sawant. It gave an assurance that the fleet of Sardesai would not molest the ships of war and merchandise of the Company and the fleet of the Company would do likewise. The trade on each side would be on payment of duties. Their joint endeavour would be to destroy Kanhoji Angrey. The Company would supply the Sardesai with artillery and warlike stores at reasonable prices.[77]

Right at the beginning, Fond Sawant decided to have friendly relations with the Portuguese. Fond Sawant must have thought that he could get the gunpowder and shot from his foreign neighbours in Goa that he could use in fighting his more aggressive neighbours like the Angres and Kolhapur. Besides, he could have a peaceful neighbour in the south. He decided to let the islands remain in Portuguese hands and to allow

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77. Aitchison, C.V., *A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sanads, relating to India and neighbouring countries based on Bombay Government Records, Vol. VII, Part II, Sawantwari* N, LXXXVIII, (Hereafter Aitchison, *Treaties etc.*), pp. 256-257.

Phonda to remain with Sunda according to the wishes of the Portuguese. He agreed to these terms in the treaty of April 7, 1712.

The whole reign appears to have been peaceful except for the minor incidents that can never be avoided in inter state affairs. But there were two series of incidents, which gave Fond Sawant II and his family indescribable pain. Fond Sawant II was a man given to frugal habits. All the arrangements made by him for the administration, army and navy leave behind a sense of economy and spending for the State. The whole policy seems to have been grown from the careful outlay of the available resources. The system of land revenue was revised by the appointment of Gano Ram who assessed the income of the land by *nazar andaz* or an estimate by inspection. The garden lands were also thus assessed. And a proportion was levied on the land and garden revenue according to a preplanned schedule. The provisions, which were needed in the Palace, were also received from the tenants.

He repaired and rebuilt the forts and built some new ones. He fought some naval battles along with his ally the East India Company with the Angres and came out victorious. He signed the 1712 treaty with the Portuguese surrendering Phonda to the ruler of Sunda. Both the parties reaffirmed this treaty several times in the future. He was unfortunate to have had two of his sons revolting against him, with one of them being killed by his forces and the other having Chandgad as his principality. He died on January 2, 1738.

Ramchandra Sawant and Jairam Sawant : 1738 to 1755

His grandson Ramchandra Sawant and Jairam Sawant, his son, succeeded him. Both signed the papers together, first by Jairam Sawant and then by Ramchandra Sawant. Jairam Sawant was tall and well built as can be seen by the huge chain armour of his that was kept in the Westropp Museum at Sawantwadi and is kept in the Kolhapur Museum now. He had his favourite mare, which was called Bormanaki and had to his credit the victories he scored over the Portuguese in Bardez and the Angre at Kudal.

The Portuguese were defending the fort of Vasai against Chimaji Appa in 1738. Peshwa Bajirao I was pressing the Sawants for an attack on Bardez and it was decided by them to demand from the Portuguese the surrender of the islands of Kharjuvem and Paneli. The Portuguese,

however, rejected the terms, and on March 5, 1739, the Sawant Bhosales occupied Bardez.[78]

The territory of Bardez remained in the hands of Jairam Sawant and Ramchandra Sawant for one year. By the treaty of Dicholi signed on March 12, 1740, the Portuguese agreed to surrender the island of Kharjuvem to the Sawants and agreed to give the village of Pirna in exchange for Paneli. Sawantwadi returned Bardez to the Portuguese. And the Portuguese agreed to provide gunpowder and bullets to the Sawants for a just price whenever necessary. The Portuguese, also, promised free shipping to the Sawants.[79]

But the Sawantwadi rulers were not satisfied with this outcome and maintained a politically and militarily aggressive policy towards the Portuguese. On February 21, 1741, Jairam Sawant made an invasion of Bardez. He had his navy and troops ready to attack the island of Goa through Kumbarjuva, but just then an English squadron arrived and made it impossible to invade the island of Goa.

The Portuguese realized that the army of Jairam Sawant was manned by brave soldiers headed by the Sawantwadi sardars like Patankar, Nimbalkar, Dalvi, Tirodkar and many others who were strongly allied to the royal family with marriage ties. They were not only reputed to be good swordsmen but also were skilled in the guerrilla warfare. They had guns and muskets with ability in sharp shooting. The forts which protected their territory were well manned and garrisoned and led by brave men who were prepared to sacrifice their own lives. They had a cavalry of fine Arab horses which were kept with the fighting men in Insuli paga, a village about five kilometers from Sawantwadi. And the navy was large enough to protect the ports and gathered in strategic groups in about six places like the Karli river which also functioned as the ship building and repairing centre of the State, the ports of Vengurla, Nivti, Redi, Terekhol and strategic points on the border with Goa. The navy was well served by the Bhandari caste from which efficient men were available to sail or row the ships and boats and to fight with guns, muskets, spears, stones and fireballs hurled with slings. The navy, led by admirals, was a constant source of worry to the foreign ships, which frequented the western coast.

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78. Pandurang S. Pissurlencar, *The Portuguese and the Marathas*, translated by P.R. Kakodker, p. 114.

79. S.K. Mhamai, *op. cit.*, pp. 45-46.

The Portuguese began to make urgent preparations to meet the threat of the superior military strength of the Sawant Bhosles. They assembled four battalions of troops which were well trained and equipped for fighting, 16 cannons which could fire 30 shots per minute which was invented at that time by a Dutchman, with large quantities of ammunition. The new equipment was sent with a Viceroy, Dom Luis de Menezis, in six ships, which took more than twelve months to sail to Goa.[80]

In June 1741, the Portuguese captured the island of Kharjuvem and then retook the Bardez territory. On September 11, 1741, a treaty was signed which confirmed the treaty of April 7, 1712.[81]

The peace continued for five years. In 1746, the Chhatrapati of Kolhapur and Tulaji Angre in consultation with the Portuguese began creating trouble for the Sawant Bhosles. The Portuguese attacked the fort of Alorna, without any declaration of war, by 4,000 men, with artillery and sharp shooters. There was also a naval force of 27 vessels in the Chapora River. In the end, the guns and ammunition of the Portuguese had their say and the Viceroy who was present at the sight captured the fort.[82]They then attacked the Desais of Sakhali, Maneri, Dicholi, Advai and others and made them accept their sovereignty.[83]

Then, on November 16, the Portuguese attacked the fort of Terekhol. Sawant Bhonsles had a fleet of 10 pals each having 15 to 20 guns, 17 galbats, three batelas, a war machuva, four parangues and many small crafts. The fort of Terekhol had 12 guns. There was a strong fleet guarding the sea frontier.[84]The Portuguese battleships overpowered the Sawantwadi ships and took the fort of Terekhol. A list of the captured Sawantwadi ships is given in the *Assentos dos Concelhos do Estado*, which gives us an idea of the Sawantwadi navy. The list includes 10 pals, one pataxo, one batela, 18 galbats, four parangues, one small batela, and two small boats most of which were taken to Goa. They captured 225 pieces of various calibres, three masons of bronze and 15 of iron.[85]

At the end of the same month, the Portuguese attacked the fort of Redi, which was next in importance to Karli and Terekhol, and a large part

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80. *Ibid.*, p. 49.
81. *Ibid.*, p. 51.
82. *Ibid.*, pp. 54-56.
83. *Ibid.*, p. 57.
84. *Ibid.*, p. 58.
85. *Ibid.*, p. 59.

of the Sawantwadi navy was stationed there. The Portuguese occupied it on December 3, 1746.[86]

The Sawant Bhonsles demanded the territories since the Portuguese had captured them by deceit but they were informed that they would be returned on the advice of the King of Portugal.[87]

Now only two stations of naval importance were left untouched by the Portuguese. One of these was the fort of Nivti, which was captured by them on December 2, 1748. When Sawantwadi started constructing ships in the Karli River in order to start a naval war against the Portuguese, they attacked and burnt all the ships. This caused heavy loss to Sawantwadi both militarily and economically. Then the Portuguese attacked Vengurla fort and then withdrew.[88]

Bhonsle's victory over Angre

During these three years, Nanasaheb Peshwa tried to get back the forts for Sawantwadi from the Portuguese but because of his preoccupations elsewhere, he could not succeed. From 1747, Kolhapur was siding with the Portuguese. And Tulaji Angre was, as usual, troublesome to Sawant Bhonsle.

In 1750, Tulaji Angre, taking advantage of the hostility of the Portuguese and Sawant Bhonsles, attacked Bharatgad and later Kudal. Jairam Sawant rallied his forces and attacked Tulaji Angre and forced him to retreat. This was the most ignominious defeat, which was suffered by the Angres from the Sawant Bhonsles. The battle drum of the Angres was captured by the Sawants and brought over to Sunderwadi. It was kept in the gate of the palace and was used to play the victory music every day at four o'clock in the morning and at evening time till 1948. Tulaji's army was chased up to Lanja. The victory raised the status of Jairam Sawant among the neighbouring powers. Peace was made between the Angre and the Sawant Bhonsles.[89]

Internal dissensions in the Darbar

A son was born to Ramchandra Sawant in 1749. Soon after this, the relations between Jairam Sawant and Ramchandra Sawant began to

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86. *Ibid.*, pp. 59-60.
87. *Ibid.*, p. 60.
88. *Ibid.*, pp. 63-64.
89. *Ibid.*, p. 73.

be strained. There was a dispute regarding the precious teak in the State forest. Ramchandra Sawant desired to build a stately palace for himself and use the teak for this purpose. Whereas Jairam Sawant wanted to rebuild the navy, which had, been ruined by the sudden attack by the Portuguese. He had a plan to strengthen the navy by utilizing the teak for shipbuilding. The Peshwa Nanasaheb intervened and proposed that Ramchandra should rule the State and Jairam Sawant should live at Pune at the court. Jairam Sawant did not accept this settlement, went to Kudal and expired there.[90]He was actuated by his honour and prestige when he refused to go to Pune when Nanasaheb Peshwa invited him. He thought he would be sacrificing the dignity of the Bhonsle family by going outside the State. He is remembered for his courage and bravery and the victories he scored over the Portuguese in Bardez and Tulaji Angre in the battle of Kudal that was long remembered in Sawantwadi.

On October 25, 1754, a treaty was signed between Sawantwadi and the Portuguese that ratified the treaty of 1712 signed by Fond Sawant II. The forts of Redi and Nivti, which had been in Portuguese possessions, were now surrendered to Sawantwadi. The Bhonsles allowed the Catholic missionaries to perform Catholic religion in Sawantwadi without any impediments. And the tribute to the Portuguese, which had not been paid since 1739, was exempted from the Sawantwadi rulers.[91] Ramchandra Sawant died in 1755.

Khem Sawant III: 1755-1803

His only son, who was less than six years old, Khem Sawant Bhonsle III, succeeded Ramchandra Sawant to the Gadi. The charge of the reign was taken over by his mother, Janakibai, who administered the State with the help of Jivaji Vishram Sabnis. The Regency of Janakibai lasted till 1763. She was a capable lady and enhanced the power and prestige of Sawantwadi with the help of Jivaji Vishram Sabnis. Sawantwadi State was not troubled during the eight years because the Angres were at war with the Peshwa. Kolhapur was having troubles with the chiefs of Icchalkaranji, Kagal and Miraj. The English were against the Angres and the Portuguese were supporting them in the war with the Peshwa. This gave Regent Janakibai an opportunity to strengthen the navy by

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90. *Ibid.*, p. 74.
91. *Ibid.*, pp. 77-78.

reconstructing and organizing it in the Karli River. The army was also strengthened.[92]

Although Khem Sawant III ratified the Treaty in 1755, in 1758, there were fights between the Portuguese and the Bhonsles over the possession of Pedne, Satari, Dicholi and the fort of Terekhol. The Viceroy of Goa, as commanded by the King of Portugal, signed a treaty with Khem Sawant III on December 24, 1761. The Bhonsles had thus compelled the restitution of their territories. Regent Janakibai and her adviser, Jivaji Vishram Sabnis, thus restored the reputation of Sawantwadi.[93]

Marries Lakshmibai Shinde of Gwalior

Khem Sawant III was now 14 years of age and this was the age considered by the custom of the times to be the marriageable age. The young man was considered to be mature to handle the affairs of the State and lead its armed forces. Janakibai entrusted the administration of the State to him in 1763. Lakshmibai, the daughter of Jayappa Shinde, who had fallen on the battlefield of the third Battle of Panipat, was marriageable. Jivbadada Kerkar, who belonged to the State as he belonged to Kerim in Pedne, had taken up service in the Jahgir of Shinde and had risen up to the rank of a Senapati. The Shindes, at the instance of Jivbadada, sent some persons for preliminary talks regarding the marriage of Lakshmibai with Khem Sawant. The proposal was accepted and the marriage took place at Srigonda, the original place of the Shindes, in 1763.[94]

When Khem Sawant III took over the administration of the State, he removed Jivaji Vishram from the post of Chief Karbhari. The reason was that Jivaji Vishram, who had been working as the administrator for eight years, had a firm hold over the Sawantwadi administration and Khem Sawant III found it too inconvenient to handle. This led to Jivaji Vishram's revolt and it was ultimately suppressed.[95]

Khem Sawant III conferred the title of Raja Bahadur

In 1785, the Mughal Emperor issued a firman granting the Morchel or the Peacock Feather and the titie of Raja Bahadur to Khem Sawant III.

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92. *Ibid.*, pp. 79-80.
93. *Ibid.*, p. 89.
94. *Ibid.*, p. 89.
95. *Ibid.*, p. 94.

It was granted to him because of the influence of Mahadaji Shinde who had set up the Emperor in Delhi. The Chhatrapati of Kolhapur was bitterly hurt by this firman because the treaty of Varna of 1731 had made him the Sovereign Lord of Sawantwadi. So he thought that it was his prerogative to have the Morchel.

The Imperial firman was ceremoniously taken from Delhi to Sawantwadi and, on May 11, 1785, Khem Sawant III accepted the Morchel and the title of Raja Bahadur granted by it with great honours. The Emperor of Delhi sent the announcement to the Peshwa, the Chhatrapati of Kolhapur, the Nizam, the Viceroy of Goa, Tipu Sultan and others.

The Morchel War

The Chhatrapati of Kolhapur complained to the Peshwa against Khem Sawant for accepting this honour. And this started the Morchel Wars involving Kolhapur and Pune. It also provided an opportunity to the Portuguese to get back from Sawantwadi State the territories of Pedne, Dicholi and Sakhali.

Nana Phadnis, although, because of Mahadaji Shinde, refused to send his army against Sawantwadi, later on sent it. The Portuguese did not help Kolhapur because they thought they wanted to destroy Khem Sawant III completely and were seeking Portugal's neutrality in the matter. The Chhatrapati of Kolhapur with his forces descended the Sahyadri ghats to attack Sawantwadi. Mahadaji Shinde was observing the Sawantwadi situation anxiously and sent his forces under Rajashree Manaji Shinde. Khem Sawant appealed to the Portuguese for help but they did not respond, as they wanted an agreement before they could do so.

Kolhapur then took Vengurla in spite of its being fortified and then laid a siege to the fort of Redi. Khem Sawant III was now in a serious situation and promised Pedne to the Portuguese. On January 29, 1788, the Bhonsles surrendering Pedne to the Portuguese in return for military help signed an agreement.

The Portuguese then joined the Sawantwadi forces and raised the siege of Vengurla and Redi and forced the Kolhapur army to withdraw to Malwan. The joint forces of Kolhapur and Nana Phadnis regrouped at Malwan and marched up to Nandos and inflicted a heavy defeat on the Sawantwadi forces. They then decided to attack Akeri, which was a couple of miles from Sawantwadi. The combined forces of the Sawants and the

Portuguese forced them to withdraw back to Malwan. The Portuguese forces now had to withdraw as Tipu Sultan had laid a siege to Hubli. Kolhapur now tried to get a concession from Khem Sawant III that he would surrender the Morchel to the Pune Council but Khem Sawant refused to do so as it was a prestigious issue.

Khem Sawant III made several representations to the Pune Council and brought pressure on Nana Phadnis. At the instance of Mahadaji Shinde, Nana Phadnis organized peace talks between the representatives of Pune, Gwalior and Kolhapur. Thus for the time being the Kolhapur-Sawantwadi conflict came to an end.

There was still the question of territories of Sawantwadi in the hands of Kolhapur. Khem Sawant also brought to the notice of Nana Phadnis that the Portuguese had done nothing in restoring back his lost territories from Kolhapur. The Portuguese had in fact benefited by getting part of Pedne. Mahadaji Shinde was keeping pressure on Nana Phadnis to acquire by force of arms the territories of Sawantwadi from Kolhapur. Nana Phadnis had a personal grudge against Mahadaji Shinde, which was cleared in 1792. Nana Phadnis then ordered an attack on Kolhapur when the call for restoring the territory to Sawantwadi was not met. The Chhatrapati of Kolhapur thus came to accept Khem Sawant's right to accept the Morchel and returned the territories of Sawantwadi back to it. The Peshwa also communicated to Khem Sawant his decision to allow him to use the title of Raja Bahadur.

The Chhatrapati of Kolhapur attacked Sawantwadi in 1795. Mahadaji Shinde had died. The forces of Kolhapur and the Portuguese army and navy attacked Sawantwadi up to the walls of Sawantwadi fort. But the Kolhapur forces had to be withdrawn because of a war at home. In October 1798, the forces of Kolhapur and the Portuguese attacked Sawantwadi but an army under Chandra Farzand who inflicted a heavy defeat on them at Awalegaon on October 25, 1798 met them. The war with the Portuguese continued and so did the negotiations also. The Portuguese brought pressure upon him so as to make him sign the treaty.

Penumbra spreads over the State

But the most important threat to the overseas trade arose actually from the British navy, which had been protecting the trade of the East India Company of Great Britain over the ocean. The lucrative British trade had been flowing from the western India ports and across the Sawantwadi Sea

for almost two centuries. They had their very important trading centre at Rajapur which bears the name now of the parliamentary constituency of the former Sawantwadi State. They had their trading station at Dicholi, a part of the Sawantwadi State then and lived in a palatial house as pointed out earlier. They competed with Sawantwadi and Goa merchants as well as with the Dutch and the French who also had palatial houses in the same place. They had their small percentage of trade, which flowed through the Ramghat and the Anmolghat. Similarly, they had trading centres in Karwar, Mangalore, Kerala and Sri Lanka. The trade across the Sawantwadi Sea went on competitively and more or less smoothly. There were the usual disputes between the ships of the two powers but they were all sorted out as shown in the *Public Department Diary* of the East India Company in Mumbai. And the first naval treaty was signed between the two in 1730 and they had fought a victorious war jointly with the Angreys shortly afterwards.

Industrial Revolution in England

A number of discoveries in geography and astronomy as well as innovations in the fields of navigation, shipbuilding and firearms had made it possible for European nations to discover the new world of America and the new sea routes to Asia. The Portuguese were the first western nation in modern times, which established a few colonies in India including Tiswadi, Bardez and Salsette, the whole of which was known as Goa, in about the first half of the sixteenth century. They were followed by the Netherlands in the first half of the seventeenth century and later on by the French. But they were eventually followed by the British who established a few trading stations on the coast of India. These nations participated in the vast trade of India by purchases in the markets mostly below the ghats. Their ships to various regions of the world including their home country as well as Europe exported the goods, which were purchased by them. They also imported into India various goods from the different places and paid for their purchases mostly in precious metals. Though their trade was small as compared to the total trade of India. Its value could have been a small percentage of the Indian trade. But the total trade of the European mercantile nations with their colonies all over the world gave them a vast income and wealth. Slowly Great Britain was by far the leader when *mercantilism* peaked after the middle of the eighteenth century.

A revolution was already on in the economic life of England, which was affecting the countries of Asia adversely. The changes, which the mercantile revolution had brought about in the English society in the last two centuries, began to usher in manufacturing processes, which produced the industrial revolution in about 1750. It started mainly in the cotton manufacturing industry, which destroyed the old, and famous Indian textile industry of India. Indian textile goods had enjoyed a monopoly in the Middle East and beyond, which was taken over by the English products. The Indian overseas trade was thus affected and the Indian textile industry began to decline. Not only the English textile products had to be sold in the subtropical and tropical countries but the cotton had to be imported from these countries also. It was quite obvious that having a territorial control over the countries would facilitate the smooth import and export of these products. This was the economic, political and naval motive, which inspired the English nation.

It is necessary to recall in brief the important changes that had occurred in the society of the small islands by the mercantile revolution that had taken place in it for about two centuries. The commodities which were imported by the East India Company from India such as tea, sugar and tobacco not only brought about an expansion of overseas trade but also the commercialization of the rural life in England. By about 1750, about 0.6 lb. of tea was legally imported per head of the population in addition to a considerable amount that was smuggled in. There was evidence that among the population in the countryside, including the labourers, their wives and daughters, the tea drinking habit was not so uncommon. According to Wendeborn, the tea that was consumed in England was three times as much as in the rest of Europe.[96]

Mostly artisans in their village cottages manufactured cloth, hosiery and a variety of metal goods and thus turned into wage-labourers. Thus by degrees, the villages in which men spent their spare time in weaving, knitting and mining, tended to become industrial villages of full time weavers, knitters and miners, and some of these developed into industrial towns.[97]Merchants to distribute the raw material and rent out the looms and frames to cottage workers visited these little market centres. And these, in turn, "became towns, filled with workshops or primitive

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96. E.J. Hobsbawn, *Industry and Empire, An Economic History of Britain since 1750*, p. 15.
97. *Ibid.*, p. 15.

manufactories to prepare and perhaps finish the material and goods distributed to and collected from the scattered out-workers. The nature of such a system of rural `domestic' or `putting-out' industry spread it widely throughout the countryside, and tightened the meshes of the web of cash transactions which spread over it."[98]But trade, especially overseas trade, was more lucrative, important and prestigious than manufactures.[99]

When inventions like the 'spinning jenny', which enabled one cottage spinner to spin several threads at a time, was discovered in 1760, as also the 'water frame' of 1768 which used the idea of spinning by a combination of rollers and spindles, and the 'mule' of the 1780s to which steam power was soon applied, the factory production was started with the last two inventions. The city of Manchester increased from 17,000 to 180,000 inhabitants between 1760 to 1830. There were hundreds of five- and six-storied factories, each with a towering chimney by its side, which exhaled black vapour. There were other cities like this one and other industries like coalmines and iron-works began to take their place.[100]The Europeans had started trading in pepper and sold one-third of the value of goods in it in Amsterdam around 1650 while by 1780 this proportion had fallen to 11 per cent. On the other hand, whereas the sales of textiles, tea and coffee amounted to 17.5 per cent in 1650, they accounted for 56 per cent in 1780.[101]The British cotton textile industry exported almost two-thirds of its product abroad by 1805.[102]

Thus the first industrialization being in cotton manufacture, the raw materials required for it had to be imported from India or such other areas and the product had to be sold overwhelmingly to people in the foreign countries. It was possible to make rapid changes by capturing the export markets of India as well as by destroying the age-old textile industry. Britain managed to do all this in a comparatively short while.[103]

The British manufacturers needed markets and this in turn required a government willing to wage war and colonization for the industrialist. And England was prepared to subordinate all foreign policy to economic ends. Her aims were commercial and naval. The result of the eighteenth century

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98. *Ibid.*, pp. 15-16.
99. *Ibid.*, p. 17.
100. *Ibid.*, p. 40.
101. *Ibid.*, p. 36.
102. *Ibid.*, p. 33.
103. *Ibid.*, pp. 32-33.

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of intermittent European warfare "was the greatest triumph ever achieved by any state: the virtual monopoly of world-wide naval power."[104]

The check received by the Mahratta Confederacy in the third battle of Panipat in 1761 was a sufficient indication to the English of the strength of the Indian powers to maintain their hold over the country. The East India Company had won the battle of Plassey in 1757 and Robert Clive was back in Kolkata in 1765. They had already recruited and trained an army of Indians who could fight more effectively under British officers. They had posted them at Kolkata, Mumbai and Chennai and were using them in the fights of Indian Princes and Nawabs by taking sides.

After the battle of Panipat, Ahmad Shah Abdali had recognized Shah Alam as the Emperor with Shuja-ud-Daula as his Vazir and entrusted Delhi and the Emperor's family to the care of Najib-ud-Daula. But the two nobles soon quarreled among themselves. Madhavrao Peshwa checked Nizam Ali and Hyder Ali and the English were left to settle the accounts with warfare. Visaji Krishna Biniwale, Tukoji Holkar and Mahadaji Shinde subdued Rajputana and the Jats and had their vengeance on the arrogant Afghans, Pathans and Rohilas. They took possession of Doab. Then Mahadaji Shinde persuaded the Mughal Emperor to leave the protection of the English, which he had accepted since the battle of Buxar in 1764, and accept Mahratta protection against aggression. In 1771 the Emperor was taken to Red Fort and installed. But Madhavrao Peshwa died in November 1772 and Mahadaji Shinde and Nana Phadnis continued his statesmanship. However, the internal dissentions of the Pune Darbar gave an opportunity to the English to achieve their objective when Mahadaji Shinde and Nana Phadnis had expired. They had defeated Tipu Sultan in 1799 and made the Nizam their subordinate ally. General Wellesly, later to become famous as the conqueror of Napoleon at the battle of Waterloo, defeated the Mahrattas at the battles of Assaye and Laswari in 1803. Shinde and Bhonsle of Nagpur signed the treaties of subsidiary alliance in 1803 and Holkar in 1805.

In the Tal Konkan, the safe and easy transport of cotton from the southern Maharashtra and northern Karnataka over the Sahyadri to the ports along the coast was the objective of the East India Company in the last few decades of the eighteenth century. They had taken over the monopoly markets of India in the Middle East and the demand for Indian

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104. Ibid., p. 34.

goods had completely died down. There were attacks by ships of Sawantwadi on the busy ships of the Company. And these 'piratical' attacks were desired by the Company to be stopped. In 1765, they occupied the important fort of Sindhudurg from Kolhapur. The British squadron under Major Gordon and Captain Watson then attacked and took the fort of Yeshwantgad at Reddy because the 'pirates' of the place were endangering their trade. The fort of Sindhudurg was restored to Kolhapur on their assurance that the losses and charges amounting to Rs. 382,896 would be paid and the ships would not be molested in the future. Yeshwantgad or Fort Augustus was restored to Khem Sawant on his agreeing to cede the land between the Karli and Salshi rivers bound by the sea on the west and on the east by the Sahyadri Mountains. He further agreed to pay Rs. 100,000 as war expenses, to allow the English merchants to pass freely, to keep no navy and to help the British in the case of a war with the Mahrattas.[105]

Khem Sawant having again started naval attacks on the British ships, the East India Company sent Mostyn who signed a treaty with Khem Sawant fixing a compensation of Rs.200,000 to be paid within 13 years during which the fort of Vengurla was to be ceded to the British. Although Sawantwadi did not pay the complete amount and the hostages had fled from Mumbai, the handing over of Vengurla at the end of 13 years was demanded by Khem Sawant and, on being refused, Vengurla was attacked and occupied in 1780.[106]So the matters stood till the end of his rule, which came about in 1803. The English were busy with the Mahrattas and with the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars and the penumbra was to be replaced by the umbra by the end of the second decade of the nineteenth century.

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105. S.K. Mhamai, *op. cit.*, p. 97.
106. *Ibid.*, p. 98.

Chapter 3

LOSS OF INDEPENDENCE AND BEGINNING OF BRITISH RULE

Independent ruler Khem Sawant III

RAJA KHEM SAWANT BHONSLE BAHADUR III has been known as Khem Sawant the Great in the history of Sawantwadi. He had inherited a viable nation in the middle of the eighteenth century and ran his career to what it seemed to be a successful end when he died in 1803. Sawantwadi had indeed been a nation ruled over by a monarch, who wielded all the powers over the State. He did not pay any tribute to any power in India or the world. He had an army and a navy to defend the State from all foreign powers, including the Peshwa, the State of Kolhapur or the Portuguese. He and his predecessors maintained the administration of the State independently and gave justice in all disputes without any appeal beyond his courts of law. The people under him carried on the export and import trade with countries lying far across the sea. His ancestor had established their own mint to utter their coin. They settled rights over the sea with all foreign powers and those of territory for a century and a half. The people had an independent way of life that was well protected by national boundaries like the high Sahyadris and the vast Arabian Sea. They had a large number of forts defended by brave soldiers and a navy with sea-daring sailors who belonged to a strong community called the Bhandaries. And the soldiers defended the land with guns, muskets and gunpowder manufactured indigenously and by bravery and guerrilla warfare, which suited the hilly and thickly wooded territory. The State continued as nation up to the end of the second decade of the nineteenth century when the British compelled it to sign a Treaty of Subsidiary Alliance.

Ominous danger from East India Company

The conferment of the title of Raja Bahadur on Khem Sawant III by the Mughal Emperor Shah Alam had brought about the Morchel War with Kolhapur and the Peshwa under Nana Phadnis. The State was compelled to cede Pedne, Dicholi and Satari to the Portuguese on their help in restoring its territories that had been invaded by the enemy. The Portuguese did help in doing so in the beginning but could not in the end.

And so the territory promised could not be surrendered to the Portuguese. The King of Portugal, however, annexed Pedne, Dicholi and Satari at the end of Khem Sawant's reign in 1803.

But a more ominous danger was developing from the British East India Company to the independence of Indian States during the fifty years beginning with about 1750. The British waged successful wars with many of the powers in India in the second half of the eighteenth century and extended their control over them gradually. As far as Sawantwadi was concerned, they took over the monopoly of cotton textile trade from India across the Arabian Sea and so destroyed the Indian overseas trade, including that of Sawantwadi, almost entirely. The regular sailing of Indian merchant ships to and from the port of Vengurla and the rest of the ports of India came to a halt by the end of the eighteenth century. The overseas traders were not getting their accustomed orders for Indian textiles from the ports of Arabia and could not buy the production of the cotton textile manufacturers of the Deccan. The once prosperous communities of merchants, traders, bankers, agents, trading assistants and transporters were virtually lying idle. The navy of Sawantwadi only saw the British merchant ships bringing in the English textiles to markets in the Deccan. And they saw them taking to England all the Deccan cotton that they bought and moved down the ghats with the help of Lamani transporters. There was a great disappointment among the people who were deprived of their usual income. The indigenous ships began to attack and loot the British ships with tacit support of the Subehdar and Sardars in charge of the forts, which guarded the sea.

These were the 'pirate' attacks that the British wanted to put down. They had taken over the fort of Sindhudurg from Kolhapur and were trying to take possession of Redi, Nivti and Vengurla in order to make their trade safer. They did take over the possession of Redi and Vengurla but were compelled to surrender them. They had indeed decided to carry on the trade with the difficulties they were experiencing till their wars with the Mahrattas were brought to a successful conclusion. Their Mahratta wars were not yet over when Raja Khem Sawant Bahadur III breathed his last.

Struggle for succession to the Gadi

Although Khem Sawant III had four wives, he had left behind only daughters and no son. But there were other male heirs in the family who laid claims to the *Gadi*, giving rise to a regime of intrigues and plots. One

of these claimants was a descendent of Phond Sawant II, who was named Jairam Sawant, *alias* Bawa Saheb. Som Sawant, his father, aided him. The other one was Ramchandra Sawant, *alias* Bhau Saheb and was supported by Shriram Sawant, *alias* Rao Saheb, who was his father. The two carried on intrigues against each other and also engaged in open hostilities. Jairam Sawant and Som Sawant were besieged in the fort of Sawantwadi by Shriram Sawant's forces. As the attack went on, Som Sawant fired a train of powder that started a great flame in which he himself perished with his family including Jairam Sawant, the contender to the *Gadi*. Phond Sawant, Som Sawant's only surviving son, who was imprisoned in the Redi fort, survived. Lakshmibai, the widow of Khem Sawant, was carrying on the affairs of the State as Regent. Shriram Sawant forced her to adopt his son Ramchandra Sawant. The adoption took place in 1805.[1]

In 1806, Kolhapur invaded Sawantwadi and took Bharatgad and Nivti. But in return, the Sawantwadi troops retook Redi and Nivti and besieged Bharatgad. The Maharaja of Kolhapur then led his army in person. At Chowkul there was a pitched battle with Sawantwadi forces in which Kolhapur was victorious. Then the Kolhapur army descended the Parpoli and Hanumant ghats and raised the siege of Bharatgad. The troops under his command proceeded in the direction of the capital of Sawants and laid siege to it. The Regent Lakshmibai had to ask for aid from Siddojirao Nimbalkar, the Desai of Nipani, who sent a large force to Sawantwadi to raise the siege. He also invaded the territory of Kolhapur and compelled the Maharaja to return to his State to defend it.[2]

But Appaji Subrao, the Nipani general, saw the possibility of being the master of the whole of Sawantwadi State. He put Lakshmibai and Ramchandra Sawant *alias* Bhau Saheb under a strict surveillance. Ramchandra Sawant Bhau Saheb was found strangled in his bed. It was believed that the assassination was carried out by Appaji Subarao's orders and with the concurrence of Phond Sawant, the last surviving son of Som Sawant, who was held in imprisonment at Redi. Lakshmibai died in 1808

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1. Courtney, W., and Auld, J.W., *Memoir on the Sawunt Waree State*,(Hereafter Courtney and Auld, *Memoir*), p. 4. This book gives a more or less authentic account of the diplomatic and military operations during what their authors called "the rebellion against the Government". Courtney was the first Political Superintendent and Major Auld the senior officer in the British Government at Sawantwadi at the time. Their narrative contains their official prejudices against the leaders of the Sawantwadi war of liberation. They have, therefore, been discounted in the account, which has been discerned from their writing.
2. Alexander Kyd Naime, *History of the Konkan*, p. 112.

and Durgabai, the second widow of Khem Sawant III, became the Regent, carrying on the affairs of Sawantwadi in the name of Raja Phond Sawant Bahadur III.[3]

In 1809, Appaji Subarao's army had to withdraw above the Sahyadri in order to defend the territory in Nipani. Phond Sawant, supported by the Sardars of the State, expelled the remaining army of Nipani and replenished his authority in Sawantwadi. But soon after this, the Sardars began plundering and attacking foreign goods and ships of the East India Company and pillaging their commerce.[4]

Treaty of 1812 with East India Company

The British ships went to Vengurla to transport cotton grown in the northern territories of Karnatak. It was purchased in the famous markets of Dharwad, Hubli, Vijapur and Belgaum and could be transported through Ramghat, Talkatghat and Parpolighat and could be trans-shipped from Vengurla and Banda. The cotton textiles and other industrial products could be brought in at the same ports and transported to the Deccan from about the beginning of the nineteenth century. It was necessary for the British to control the attacks by the Sawantwadi Sardars on the English ships. The plundering of these ships was continuous and it was called 'piracy' on British commerce. These attacks continued till 1812.

Mountstuart Elphinstone, who was the British Resident at Pune, wrote to Lord Minto, the Governor General that "a negotiation was to be commenced for the purpose of acquiring such Forts on the Coasts of Colapore and Sawunt Warree, as should secure our trade from the depredations that had been hitherto experienced."[5]

The East India Company was waiting for an opportunity to initiate negotiations with Sawantwadi Durbar to solve the problem of securing their trade from the attacks of Sawantwadi ships. Captain Courtland Schuyler, the Envoy in Goa of the Governor General of Indian Territories, was watching the Sawantwadi situation very minutely from Panaji. His work was connected with Sawantwadi extremely closely and he had his agents to cover the important personages. In 1812, he knew the differences of opinion between Phond Sawant III and the Regent Rani

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3. Courtney and Auld, *Memoir*, p. 5.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 5.
5. *Maharashtra State Archives/Secret Department Diary 1812/ July 29, 1812*, (Hereafter *MSA/SDD*). Extract from letter No. 23 from M. Elphinstone to Lord Minto, July 30, 1812, p. 854.

Durgabai. Phond Sawant III was supported by Sardars who claimed that keeping the British satisfied by giving in to their demand about the attacks on their ships should make them give their assurance for the safety of Sawantwadi State. The doubts of the East India Company being more greedy for power rather than their supposed worry for the safety of Sawantwadi State were worrying Rani Durgabai and many of the Sardars and they felt it would be a mistake to make concessions to them.

There was a conference between Sawantwadi Durbar and Captain Courtland Schuyler at Madur, to settle the problem. Schuyler had a "considerable difficulty to encounter, from the devided councils, dessentions and jarring Interests that prevail in this Durbar, the Raja himself appeared at the first inclined to a friendly arrangement, and seemed anxious to secure the friendship and protection of the Hon'ble Company; but the intrigues of an opposite Party inimical to any cession to the British Government of which the Ranee Dorgabhae is supposed to be at the head, had at one time nearly prevailed..."[6] In spite of this opposition, Schuyler was able to persuade Raja Phond Sawant Bahadur to issue a Proclamation announcing to his subjects the arrangement he had entered into with the British Government.[7]

Free trade for British through Sawantwadi

On October 3, 1812, a Treaty was thus negotiated with Phond Sawant III, under the Regency of Durgabai. In order to put an end to repeated attacks on British ships, it was agreed to cede in full sovereignty to the British Government the fort of Vengurla and the battery of Gunaram Tembe. He agreed to deliver up to the British all *galbats, phatemars* and other vessels that were equipped in a warlike manner. He agreed to allow no vessel to leave the port of Nivti without being searched by British authorities that were to be allowed to station a guard of troops there for the purpose. He also promised that if hereafter any subject of Sawantwadi attacked or plundered British ships, the forts of Redi and Nivti should also be given up to the East India Company.[8] It was also agreed that the British Blockading Squadron would be withdrawn and the ports in Sawantwadi

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6. *Ibid., No. 279*, Extract from the letter from Schuyler to Lord Minto, October 5, 1812, pp. 1195-1196.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 1197,
8. C.U. Aitchison, *A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sanads, relating to India and neighbouring countries based on Bombay Government Records, No. X of New Series, and ports by the Bombay Government, Vol. VII, Part II.* (Hereafter Aitchison, Treaties etc.), pp. 251-255.

State would be opened for the Free Trade of the British and Sawantwadi subjects. British merchants, it was agreed, would be allowed the Free Liberty of passing and repassing the Sawantwadi territory with their effects, merchandises, carriages and the beasts of burden and pay the same Land Tolls as were paid by the natural subjects.[9]

British promise protection against enemies to the State

In order that Raja Phond Sawant would have full confidence in the protection of the British Government and to overcome the disaffected and intriguing persons in the State, Schuyler publicly explained that the Raja, as the friend of the British, was entitled to their protection against all evil disposed persons and enemies to his Government.[10] The Raja, says Schuyler, "was apprehensive of Treachery and aware that his person was surrounded by many Sirdars far from well disposed either to himself, or the arrangement he had concluded" with him. The Raja's visit, he says, was concerned only with his *'traitoress and evil disposed subjects'*. It is quite evident that the Raja having entered into the Treaty of 1812 with the British Government had put himself into the camp that was dangerous to the State, as was believed in by Regent Durgabai, the Sardars and the subjects.[11] Raja Phond Sawant Bhonsle Bahadur died on October 29, 1812 at Akwant.[12]

Regent Durgabai and her fight against British duplicity

Durgabai, who still continued to manage the affairs of the State, sent for the deceased Raja's son, Khem Sawant, and set him up as Raja Khem Sawant Bahadur IV, *alias* Bapu Saheb, on the *Gadi*. He was only eight years old and Rani Durgabai kept the main powers in her own hands as Regent.[13]

The East India Company had obtained possession of the fort of Sindhudurg from the Kolhapur State by the Treaty of Alliance of October 1,

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9. *MSA/SDD 1812 No. 279*, Letter from Schuyler to Lord Minto of October 5, 1812, Treaty between Sawantwadi and the East India Company of 1812, p. 1202.
10. *Ibid.*, pp. 1197-1198.
11. *Ibid., 1813, No. 281*, Letter from Schuyler to J. Adam, Secretary to Government, Fort William, pp. 6-7.
12. *MSA/Secret and Political Department Diary 1812, No. 280*, (Hereafter *SPDD*). Letter from Schuyler to L. Smith, Malwan, October 29, 1812, p. 1445.
13. Courtney and Auld, *Memoir*, p. 6.

1812.[14] Phond Sawant II had been built Bharatgad at Masura. In 1808, the anarchy that had followed the death of Khem Sawant III gave an opportunity to Kolhapur to seize this fort and other possessions.[15] Regent Durgabai recaptured the forts of Bharatgad and Narsinhagad and Sparrow, British Resident at Malwan, protested at not receiving any notice of it. Captain Schuyler, who was the Goa envoy of the British entrusted with political relations with Sawantwadi State, by his letter of February 10, 1813, demanded the return of the forts of Bharatgad and Narsinhagad to Kolhapur as the integrity of its territories was to be defended by the British according to a treaty concluded by them recently. But this, as the injunction to surrender it by Elphinstone, were not heeded by her forthright reply asserting the right of Sawantwadi State to regain possession of its own. When the Sawantwadi Government rejected this demand, it was declared by the East India Company to be in a state of war. Colonel Dowse's Field Force, then above the ghats, was moved against the Sawantwadi territory. [16]

Lord Minto recognizes State's right but orders acquisition

When the matter was reported to the Governor General in Council, Lord Minto, he thought, as is clear from a letter of J. Adam, Secretary to his Government, that, whatever might be the justice of the claim set up by Rani Durgabai, the unwarrantable act of aggression committed by the State of Sawantwadi against the State of Kolhapur by seizure of the Fort of Bharatgad must compel the British Government to expel the Sawantwadi troops from the fortress.[17] "In point of fact," continued Adam, "it does appear that they belong of right to the Sawunt Warree State, and have been in the occupation of the Rajah but for a few years and were acquired by him unjustly."[18] He said further, "Should she insist upon an investigation however His Lordship in Council cannot discern the grounds on which it can be refused ...[19] the investigation should terminate wholly or particularly

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14. *Sawantwadi State Record/*, (Hereafter *SSR*), *R.35/F.ADM/H.A. 624/Office of the Diwan*, Joint Report No. 4 from the Political Superintendent and First Assistant Collector of Ratnagiri to Arthur Malet, Chief Secretary to Government, March 27, 1849, p. 2.
15. *Ibid.*
16. *Ibid.*, p. 3.
17. *MSA/SPDD No. 282 of 1813*, Letter to M. Elphinstone by J. Adam, Secretary to Government, Fort William, March 9, 1813, pp. 408-411.
18. *Ibid.*
19. *Ibid.*, p. 413.

in favour of the Ranee which from the information before the Government appears nearly certain..."[20]

But if the conduct of the Rani compelled the British to reduce her to submission, the Governor General would insist on getting the Fort of Bharatgad and the territory surrounding it in the hands of the British.[21] The Bombay Government insisted on the acquisition of the teak forest; so it might be transferred to the Company. And they should not lose the opportunity of adjusting the limits of Vengurla.[22] Schuyler was asked to employ every argument to dissuade Rani Durgabai from soliciting an investigation.[23]

Importance of Vengurla and Schuyler's Terms of Treaty

A British force under Colonel Dowse had in the meanwhile attacked Sawantwadi territory and the Regent Durgabai gave way and forwarded to him an order on her *killedar* of Bharatgad of March 13, 1813 to deliver up the fort.[24]

Schuyler understood the importance of Vengurla very well. He knew that the port of Vengurla was the best adapted for general commerce because of its central situation and other local causes. Besides, he was credibly informed that the District of Vengurla yielded at that time from Rupees 10,000 to 12,000 annually and he was sure that if the district were entirely in British possession, it would yield very shortly an increase of 30 per cent.[25] He had also come to know from a *karkun* belonging to Kolhapur that three-fourths of the Teak Forest of Kundalgaon in Masura was dependent upon Sindhudurg and so had demanded that Rani Durgabai should relinquish all claims to the Forest.[26] In the meanwhile, Schuyler had sent the terms of the proposed treaty to Rani Durgabai and heard that she had given orders to reinforce the garrison of the Fort of Redi and that ammunition and provision had been thrown into it. He, therefore, asked Lt.

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20. *Ibid.*, p. 416.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 418.
22. *Ibid.*, pp. 419-420.
23. *Ibid.*, Letter to Schuyler by J. Adam, March 19, 1813, p. 425.
24. *SSR/R.35/F.ADM/H.A.624/Office of the Diwan*, Joint Report No.4 from the Political Superintendent and First Assistant Collector of Ratnagiri to Arthur Malet, Chief Secretary to Government, March 27, 1849, p. 3.
25. *MSA/SPDD/No. 282 of 1813*, Letter to M. Elphinstone by Schuyler, March 28, 1813, pp. 280-281.
26. *MSA/SPDD/No. 282 of 1813*, Letter to Sparrow, Resident at Malwan, from Schuyler, March 31, 1813, p. 373. A copy of Agreement sent by Schuyler to Rani Durgabai, pp.379-80.

Col. Dowse to take the Corps under his orders at the bottom of the Ghats to commence the occupation of the capital and the Fort of Redi.[27] He wished to have a speedy conclusion one way or the other, as the near approach of the monsoon would not admit of unnecessary delay.[28]

Durgabai's appeal against British high handedness

Rani Durgabai appealed to Schuyler to direct the force to quit the country, thus sustaining "the reputation you have already acquired for your former friendship to this State".[29] It was clear that Rani Durgabai had rejected the Treaty.[30] She had in fact said that under the conception of her right to the Fort of Bharatgad, she had taken it back from Kolhapur. But she had withdrawn from it. Yet the British troops had not gone back. Captain Schuyler, on the other hand, had demanded the Fort of Yeshwantgad with its dependencies. It was well known that they had not failed to protect and confirm the Government and possessions of the different Rajas with whom they had formed Treaties. But with Sawantwadi they were acting contrary to that principle.[31]

Law does not apply when needs of commerce are involved

It was certainly true that the British Government were protecting and confirming the territorial possessions of the Princes with whom they had signed treaties. But this was done when there was no conflict of this policy with the main aim of establishing their commercial control over India. The access to India of the goods manufactured by the industrial machines in England had first of all to be made sure. The British had obtained a mastery of the sea routes by defeating her European rivals, especially the French at Trafalgar, and could carry their goods with little risks to the various ports of India. What they had in hand was making secure the transport of goods from the seaports to the interior parts of India where vast markets existed.

They did buy the goods that were transported by these routes under the former Sawantwadi rulers according to their system of collecting taxes and providing their protection. But now when the British realized that

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27. *Ibid.*, Letter to Lt. Col. Dowse from Schuyler, April 5, 1813, pp. 304-306.
28. *Ibid.*, Letter to M. Elphinstone from Schuyler, April 5, 1813, pp. 303-304.
29. *Ibid.*, British translation of a letter from Rani Durgabai to Schuyler, April 8, 1813, p. 307.
30. *Ibid.*, Letter to M. Elphinstone from Schuyler, April 8, 1813, p. 309.
31. *Ibid.*, Translation of a letter from Rani Durgabai to the Resident at Malwan, April 8, 1813, pp. 329-331. Yeshwantgad is the fort at Redi.

Sawantwadi State was more amenable to their military and diplomatic ability, they found it more profitable and convenient to try to have control over the transport of their goods. The possession of Vengurla and trade routes that would facilitate the transport of goods became the primary objective of their policy. And this objective was reinforced by the continuous demand of the British merchants at home.

Raja Phond Sawant Bahadur III had indeed signed the Treaty of 1812 with the East India Company. Captain Courtland Schuyler gave an oral assurance to him that the protection of the British would be given to the State against its enemies. He had explained this fact to the Governor General.[32] The apprehensions of Regent Durgabai and important Sardars appeared to be coming true by the falsity of that British assurance. The Governor General in Council could confirm the justice of the Regent's claim that Bharatgad and the territories surrounding it belonged by right to Sawantwadi. But he did not want to be put to inconvenience by pronouncing this truth if the Regent Durgabai referred the question to his judgment. He advised Schuyler to pursue the policy of trying to acquire the territories of Masura, Warad and Malund and the rights over the Turuf of Vengurla and Redi from Sawantwadi.[33]

British determined to acquire the territories

As Captain Schuyler received these instructions from J. Adam,[34] he recommended Lt. Col. Dowse, as we have already observed, to proceed to the capital of Sawantwadi to induce the Regent to agree to the terms already proposed by him.[35] Captain Schuyler was advised by Elphinstone from Pune that he should desirably obtain the cession of Masura, Varad and Malund in exchange for their rights in Pat and Haveli. He should also obtain the terms over Vengurla. The British Government would retain the factory of Vengurla with the land between it and the Sea and would acquire a right to construct a guard house.[36]

Elphinstone felt that the reputation of the British Government would not suffer because of carrying the English designs on the Sea Coast into full effect in a country so unfavourable to military operations.[37] The

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32. Please refer to p. 4 of this Chapter.
33. Please refer to p. 5 of this Chapter.
34. *MSA/SPDD/No. 282 of 1813*, letter to Schuyler from J. Adam, March 19, 1813, p. 425.
35. *Ibid.*, Letter to Dowse from Schuyler, April 8, 1813, pp. 334-336.
36. *Ibid.*, Letter to Schuyler from Elphinstone, Pune, April 15, 1813, p. 322.
37. *Ibid.*, Letter to Francis Warden from Elphinstone, April 17, 1813, pp. 271-273.

Governor in Council of Bombay had strongly supported the action.[38] They were of the opinion, however, that the whole space between the Masura and the Karli rivers should be preferred as it would afford a complete control of the navigation of these rivers as their possession at that time in Malwan extended to the northern bank of the Karli river.[39]

Regent Durgabai leaves Palace during siege of Sawantwadi

The terms were so insulting to the Darbar that Regent Durgabai had to leave Sawantwadi when Colonel Dowse besieged the capital. She wrote to Colonel Dowse that she was willing to give up the village of Vengurla if he directed his troops to proceed up the ghats. Then he could settle all the matters between the two at Mangaon. She was determined not to return to her country if he did not withdraw his army beyond the mountains.[40] This disposition was also expressed by the members of the Darbar exercising the authority of the Government during the absence of Regent Durgabai.[41]

Captain Schuyler then asked Lt. Col. Dowse to endeavour to negotiate a friendly Treaty with her, hoping that everything might be amicably adjusted according to the wishes of the Governor in Council of Bombay.[42] But Lt. Col. Dowse was not able to effect an amicable settlement with the Regent and he was in consequence prepared to leave Sawantwadi. He had no reason to believe that the Regent would recall the order about Vengurla that she had issued.[43]

Regent Durgabai transfers rights in Vengurla

The order from Regent Durgabai transferred the rights in Vengurla only from June 5, 1813, from which date the Sawantwadi year of accounts began.[44] Dunlop found the reluctance of the Patils and others to communicate information to him to be very strong. By inquiries with the natives, he found that during the time of Raja Khem Sawant III, the Sea Customs amounted to about Rupees seven hundred per annum and because of the attacks on British ships, the intercourse by sea had been put to a stop

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38. *Ibid.*, Letter to Elphinstone from the Chief Secretary to Government, Bombay, Francis. Warden, April 22, 1813, p. 323-324.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 327.
40. *Ibid.*, Translation of Regent Durgabai's letter to Colonel Dowse, May 1, 1813, p. 562.
41. *Ibid.*, Letter from Dowse to Schuyler, May 2, 1813, pp. 158-159.
42. *Ibid.*, Letter from Schuyler to Francis Warden, May 5, 1813, pp. 157-158.
43. *Ibid.*, Letter to J.A. Dunlop from Lt. Col. Dowse, May 18, 1813, pp. 526-528.
44. *Ibid.*, Letter to Lt. Col. Dowse from J.A. Dunlop, Acting Resident, Vengurla, May 15, 1813, p. 498.

almost entirely.[45] The Land Customs were collected at Mangaum. On every bullock load of coconuts, salt etc., one-fourth of a Rupee was collected and on more valuable articles, a higher rate was levied. These collections had been farmed at Rupees 4,000 per annum.[46] The present gross produce of the whole *Taruf* of Vengurla, including what was reserved by Rani Durgabai for herself, was reckoned by Dunlop to be more than Rupees 14,500.[47] He also observed that the "superior convenience" of the road down the Ghat to Vengurla rendered it the most desirable station on the coast in a commercial point of view. He further observed that a considerable number of merchants from Goa and other places had already repaired there.[48]

It was understood by the British quite rightly that the intention of retaining the Fort of Redi in their own hands by the Regent and the Darbar of Sawantwadi had been the cession of the rights in Vengurla *Taruf*. The separation of this Fort from the Sawantwadi State would cause every possible resistance from its Government. Besides, the revenue of Rupees 18,000 per annum was settled on Rani Durgabai and on Sambhaji Sawant, the Killedar in command of the Fort, who belonged to an illegitimate branch of the Bhonsle family.[49]

The Governor General was informed that the Port of Vengurla and the *Taruf* yielded an amount of revenue that was one-third of Redi. But even at that time, it engrossed a portion of the trade of that part of the coast carried on by means of bullocks into the interior territory. There were no roads applicable to the conveyance of produce, or of merchandise by carriages, having been made up to that time.[50]

The revenues of Masura came to about Rupees five or the establishment of Bharatgad absorbed six thousand per annum, the whole of which.[51] The fort was too contemptible as a place of arms to be brought under the consideration of the Company.[52] Even the teak forest in Masura was in a soil that was sandy and unfavourable to the growth of timber

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45. *Ibid.*, p.499.
46. *Ibid.*, p. 499-500.
47. *Ibid.*, p. 500.
48. *Ibid.*, p. 501.
49. *Ibid.*, Letter to Gilbert Lord Minto, Governor General in Council, from Evan Nepean, George Brown and John Elphinston, May 18, 1813, p. 430.
50. *Ibid.*, p. 430.
51. *Ibid.*, p. 433.
52. *Ibid.*, p. 434.

producing trees. There was none of any considerable dimensions, which was then standing.[53]

Coconut trees could be cultivated in Masura, Varad and Malund with more advantage than anything else, the soil being congenial to its growth. If the trees were planted and were protected in the next ten or twelve years, they would bear a revenue of not less than a lakh or a lakh and one half of Rupees, including the revenue from grains.[54] The mouth of the Karli River was nearly half a mile broad. It was capable of receiving ships under 200 tons burden. The river, though it was not navigable for shipping to any considerable distance, extended into the interior, nearly to the foot of the Parpoli ghat.[55]

Regent Durgabai triumphs over British diplomatic defeat

But the British Government had nothing but defeat at the end of six months of busy activity in the South Konkan. Schuyler had to report to the Governor General in Council the unsuccessful termination of the negotiation with the Sawantwadi State.[56] He called Regent Durgabai a "capricious woman" who could not come to "a friendly settlement".[57] The Acting Resident at Vengurla was asked to "suspend the exercise of any authority until after the period has expired when the right to collect the Revenue in this district, devolves to the British Government, in virtue of the instrument by which the Warree Government has relinquished it to the Honorable Company, a contrary proceeding just now, might possibly be viewed as a reason by the Warree State to contest our right to it..."[58] Schuyler being afraid that the Sawantwadi Government might attempt to recapture the Fort of Bharatgad during the oncoming monsoon, asked the Maharaja of Kolhapur to repel any such attack.[59]

The Sawantwadi Darbar issued the Proclamation that Vengurla "village and Bunder except (what appertains to) Churches Charities, Bramins and Enams, formerly allowed as deductions from the dust, or

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53. *Ibid.*, p. 435.
54. *Ibid.*, pp. 435-436.
55. *Ibid.*, pp. 438-439.
56. *Ibid.*, Letter to J. Adam, Fort William, from Schuyler, May 20, 1813, pp. 568-71.
57. *Ibid.*, Letter to Francis Warden, Chief Secretary to Government of Bombay from Schuyler, May 21, 1813, pp. 229-230.
58. *Ibid.*, Letter to J.A. Dunlop from Schuyler, May 23, 1813, pp. 559-562.
59. *Ibid.*, Letter to Francis Warden, Chief Secretary, Bombay, from Schuyler, May 26, 1813, p. 282.

dues, Sircars Oarts Grain lands, and Salt Pans, and claimants or Huckdars, with these deductions all the rest of the village is given, from the beginning of next year, to the Hon'ble Companys Sircar whose orders you must attend, and obey and pay their dues..."[60]

Strength of diplomacy evinced by Durgabai

Regent Durgabai had shown a great determination and a sense of rightness in the position she had adopted. She had kept the whole territory of Masura, Varad and Malund and the forts of Bharatgad and Redi in the possession of Sawantwadi while remaining away from her capital when the Field Force under Lt. Col. Dowse was besieging it. She had done this because she was right in her recapturing of the fort of Bharatgad and refusing to sign a fresh treaty when the Treaty of 1812 with the East India Company was only a few months old. She had reminded the Governor General of the promise of protection and security which had been given, with the support of the Governor General, by the Envoy of the British to the State of Sawantwadi. But, in the end, the Governor in Council of Bombay felt great regret that the differences with Sawantwadi had not been settled to their satisfaction and that "the British Government will be ultimately obliged to have recourse to measures for compelling a compliance with its reasonable expectations."[61] The acceptance of the Regent's offer by the Governor in Council of Bombay was conveyed to the Envoy Schuyler.

British acquisition of Masura, Varad and Malund

The *turufs* of Maland and Varad, together with all the villages to the north of the Karli river, which belonged to Sawantwadi, had been ceded by the Kolhapur Government to the British and were taken over by them in 1815. The Sawantwadi claims on Masura, Varad and Malund were those of sovereignty and their revenue estimated at Pirkhani Rs. 38,480-5-9. The Sindhudurg claims on Pat and Haveli were those of *tankhas* amounting to Pirkhani Rs. 3,171-14-0.[62]

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60. *Ibid.*, Translate mandate to the Villages and Inhabitants of the Village and Bunder of Vengurla, pp. 494-495.
61. *Ibid.*, Letter to M. Elphinstone by Francis Warden, June 3, 1813, pp. 538-542.
62. *SSR/R.35/F.ADM/H.A. 624/Office of the Diwan*, Joint Report No. 4 from the Political Superintendent and First Assistant Collector of Ratnagiri to Arthur Malet, Chief Secretary to Government, Sawantwadi, March 27,

Eclipse of the Grandest Society of Merchants in the Universe

The East India Company, which had assumed the reputation of the grandest society of merchants in the universe up to the end of the eighteenth century, had started developing from a predominantly commercial into a predominantly territorial power when Pitt's India Act of 1784 created a Board of Control to superintend it. The war in India of the next fifteen years obviously had increased the sale of Indian goods extraordinarily in England. With success in the war with Tipu Sultan, almost all the European powers were excluded from trading with India and the goods sold in England were re-exported to Europe. Tea in England, which was consumed at 11,000,000 pounds in 1784, [63] had grown now to 25,000,000 pounds. There was a great European demand for Indian silk and piece goods, especially in Italy, which was further increased by a change in European dress fashions. Indian saltpetre was required in great quantity for the manufacture of gunpowder. In 1793, the total sales at the India House realized Pounds 6,255,591; by 1800, the amount realized was Pounds 8,557,056.[64] But in 1806, the Berlin Decrees by Napoleon curtailed the export of Indian goods to Europe. In Britain itself, the cheap, machine manufactured cotton textiles began to sell cheaply in competition to the Indian piece goods. The value of the Company's sale of goods in 1808 was Pounds 1,394,589 less than the average for preceding ten years. When Pounds 3,000,000 worth of goods were sold by them in 1798, only Pounds 433,000 worth were sold by them in 1807. The London Warehouses of the Company had Pounds 7,148,440 worth of goods lying unsold in April 1808.[65]

The British authorities could point out to the fact that the exports to India had been doubled during that period. The Agency Houses and private merchants of London insisted on the inevitability of relaxation of the Company's exclusive priviledge of trading with India. It was agreed to accept the opening of export trade to India and that the more valuable import trade from India was to be opened and it should pass into England only through London.[66] The war and the operation of the Continental System had brought about a marked decline in British trade. This brought about the merchants' demand that the Company's trade should be opened

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63. Auber, *Constitution of East India Company*, p. 620.
64. C.H. Philips, *The East India Company 1784-1834*, p. 105.
65. *Ibid.*, p. 155.
66. *Ibid.*, p. 181.

to all private traders. The Liverpool merchants organized an agitation for the complete opening of British ports to the export and import trade with India.[67]

The Charter Act of 1813 allowed the Company to continue their export and import trade to and from India. But the private traders proved that they were more effective than the Company by making their trade more extensive and profitable. Between 1814-32 only 1,324 Englishmen came to India and they were not in the Company's service.[68] They had received an opportunity to amass money quickly in India. And in the twenties of the nineteenth century they had increased their influence at the India House. They had established about a score of East India Agency Houses in London. And these Houses undertook the remission to England of the fortunes of British merchants and Company's servants in India. By 1831, they formed a majority of the Directors of the Company. They could thus protect the bulwark of the private trade interest.[69] The private traders in the end greatly developed the import to England especially of cotton.[70]

British non-interference during pretension of Bhau Saheb

East India Company did not avail of a further opportunity of invasion when a person claimed that he was Bhau Saheb who had not been strangulated to death in his sleep in 1807. Rani Dadibai supported his claim and Sardar Chandroba, an influential person in the State, wished to place him in power. Regent Durgabai was in a great fix and offered to adjust the British problem if they would support her cause. Interference by the British Government was, however, declined, obviously because they were engaged in a struggle with Napoleon which ended in their victory at Waterloo. In the meantime, the Sardars on both the sides seized forts including those that were claimed by the British and plundered them. Durgabai also supported the cause of the Mahrattas in their last war with the British. She recovered much of her former power, supported the Peshwa and threatened the invasion of territories, which had been wrested by the British. After the hostilities against the Peshwa were ended, the British found it impossible any longer to postpone the hostilities against Sawantwadi.[71]

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67. *Ibid.*, pp. 181-182.
68. *Ibid.*, p. 192.
69. *Ibid.*, p. 243.
70. *Ibid.*, p. 250.
71. Aitchison, *Treaties etc.*, pp. 251-55.

Sarsubhedar Sambhaji Sawant, in charge of the Redi fort, Sardar Babnu Gopal, in charge of Nivti and Chandroba, Subehdar of Banda, all-powerful chiefs, were plundering the British ships in all directions. Durgabai had died during this time. And Savitribai and Narmadabai, who were the surviving widows of Khem Sawant III, had become the Regents.[72]

Treaty of Subsidiary Alliance of 1819

A force under the command of Sir W. Grant Keir moved to the frontiers of Sawantwadi. The object was to obtain redress against the attacks on British shipping, to get repayment of the goods that were lost, to get the removal of Sarsubhedar Sambhaji Sawant and Sardar Babnu Gopal from the positions of authority, to get the surrender of certain offenders and to get the surrender of the forts of Redi and Nivti. The demands were rejected and hostilities commenced. Sawantwadi was besieged and surrendered. But the fort of Yeshwantgad at Redi held out against the British forces and had to be regularly invested. Yeshwantgad was finally surrendered.[73]

On February 17, 1819, a treaty was concluded between the Regents Savitribai and Narmadabai in behalf of Raja Khem Sawant Bahadur IV and the British Government. The British Government agreed to protect the State of Sawantwadi and the State of Sawantwadi acknowledged the British supremacy. The Sawantwadi State agreed to abstain also from political intercourse with other States. It was also agreed that Sawantwadi State would cede to the East India Company in perpetuity the forts of Redi and Nivti, together with the *tarafs* of Pat and Ajgaon, and the whole line of the seacoast from the Karli River to the Portuguese possessions. The Sawantwadi Government agreed not to employ again Sambhaji Sawant and Babnu Gopal, to deliver up to the British Government the persons, whoever might be apprehended, who had attacked British commerce in the region. It also agreed to surrender in future all the subjects of the Sawantwadi State who might be guilty of attacking British commerce. The Raja Bahadur also agreed to admit any British detachment of the army into the Sawantwadi territory. Captain Hutchinson was appointed as Political Agent to Sawantwadi and he

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72. Courtney and Auld, ***Memoir***, p. 6.
73. *Ibid.*, p. 6.

concluded a Treaty on February 17, 1820, which handed back Pat and Ajgaon to Sawantwadi.[74]

Sawantwadi State crippled and languishing

Thus was signed a Treaty with the East India Company which gave away the independence which was enjoyed by the State for about a century and a half. The English had by now signed Treaties of Subsidiary Alliance with all the Mughal, Rajput and Mahratta princes and chieftains all over India except Punjab and Sind. This treaty, which was signed about twenty years later than most of the treaties with important Princes and Chieftains of India, left the State of Sawantwadi without the external trading and shipping in which she participated for several centuries. This position she had been losing along with the rest of India to the British from about 1750. The counter-revolutionary change in the trading pattern and in manufacturing from the Indian point of view had taken away the monopolistic market from the hands of the Indian merchants and in consequence killed the textile and other industries here. Perhaps the Regent Durgabai and her lieutenants Sambhaji Sawant, Babnu Gopal and Chandroba Subehdar of Banda and the intelligent people who supported them in their attacks on British commerce realized what had happened in the fifty years that had preceded it. But they were trying to stem the tide when the industrial revolution was full steam ahead, the British had control of the markets, both import and export, all over the world, and of military and naval power to get this control.

The British wanted to have just enough hold over their colonies and empire to keep their industrial products moving. They would make sure that they got the raw materials smoothly and sold all the products their machining factories would supply. They left Indian people to live under their own rulers while depriving them of their industry and shipping.

Sawantwadi State was left with only about half their earlier territory. The Portuguese had taken Pedne, Dicholi and Satari, the British had acquired Varad, Malund and Masura and the coastal strip from the Karli river up to the Portuguese territory and the Kolhapur State had taken a piece of territory in the east. Of the earlier ports, not one was left in her possession except Aronda and the State, once known for the ports she

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74. Aitchison, *Treaties etc.*, pp. 251-255.

possessed, was known now as a land-locked State with no access to the sea except the one through the Terekhol creek.

The Sawantwadi people were left with only agriculture and horticulture with which they had to make a living. Their other needs like implements, pottery, carpentry and wood and timber were supplied in the villages where most of them lived. And fishermen did not bring to them fish from the sea. Internal trade and commerce supplied to them their clothing, food grains, jaggery, cereals and many things, which they needed and could, afford to buy. There was no army or navy for service to the common man and the whole market of jobs with the administration and commerce was on the way to freezing.

The trade that flowed from Dharwad, Hubli, Belgaum, Vijapur and many other places consisted mainly of cotton bales and other raw materials, which went to England in British ships via the Cape of Good Hope. The British ships also brought in the products of England. There was land customs on the goods passing through the State. It was collected on goods which belonged to the citizens of Sawantwadi, the other Indian or foreign merchants or the English. It was collected at the entrance and end of the ghats and while entering a *tarafs*. There were *nakas* at which it was collected. The English merchants had a number of complaints about the arbitrary nature of these customs duties.

Khem Sawant IV assumes powers

The affairs of the State were handed over to Khem Sawant IV *alias* Bapusaheb who was then nineteen years of age. But he was described by the British authorities as "weak and incompetent ... destitute of the firmness necessary to keep his disorderly Sirdars in check, or maintain any regularity in his financial affairs." By 1830 the payments had fallen greatly into arrears.[75]

Courtney in *Memoir of the Sawant Warie State* gives an assessment of Khem Sawant's ability in the management of the State revenues. He was the Political Superintendent of the East India Company in Sawantwadi during the period of the insurrection. He says that Khem Sawant was invested with the chief authority through the intervention of the British Government and this was against the wishes of Savitribai and Narmadabai, the two surviving widows of Khem Sawant III, who wanted to

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75. Courtney and Auld, *Memoir*, p. 8.

keep the administration of affairs in their own hands. He, however, says that Khem Sawant started "extravagance and dissipation" of the revenues instead of applying them to the liquidation of pecuniary engagements and keeping his disorderly Sardars in check. The real cause, however, seemed to be that the financial affairs of Sawantwadi were in a ruined state because its income had been reduced by the failure of trade and commerce. The British had control of the sea customs on goods leaving or entering the ports. And the inland customs, which were still in the hands of the State, were in dispute and were tried to evade by British merchants who tried to take the different routes that were available for their goods.

The State had thus lost a considerable part of their internal customs, octroi, transit and other internal dues. They had also lost the huge profits that had accrued from the trade, which had been carried on by the State, like the lucrative import of horses from Arabia, Syria and Turkey, for instance, through its own ships. About one-third of the revenue was allotted to the Sarsubhedars, Subehdar and Sardars who held the numerous forts of the State, for holding the safety of the *ghats* against highway robbery, and to the *tarafs* for maintaining the law and order in their area. The whole body of guards was maintained through this revenue. When the main system of revenue was reduced by the loss of sea customs, and the navy and ships were destroyed, the naval and sea employment of the people came to an end. And so were the posts of *Samudra Sarang*, and of Sarsubhedars and Subehdar of forts, which guarded the seacoast, were ended. And the numerous ships coming in and going out of the territory came to a halt. The whole system of maintaining the safety of the trade routes was compromised by the substantive reduction of the internal customs. The State had to suffer the largest financial blow by the substantial loss of these internal dues. The attacks on the thickly wooded roads began to increase and the Raja had to make concessions to the Sardars by way of grants. This sort of affairs naturally put the financial condition of the State into jeopardy.

Sardar Phond Sawant takes lead against oppression

Phond Sawant Tambulkar Desai *Tape* Banda was a hale and hearty man. He was quite straight, though he had crossed eighty years of age. Desai Phond Sawant Tambulkar was the Killedar of Mahadeogad, which was at the top of the Parpolighat. He thus controlled the entrance to an important *ghat* for goods coming in at Vengurla and going out of it to

and from Belgaum. He began to complain of the oppression and injustice to which he had been subjected. There were continuous robberies and inroads of bandits along the highway. And the forces under his command could not be paid their salaries so that they could be employed in suppressing the illegal acts. The Sawantwadi State was thrown into a state of financial disorganization. And when Desai Phond Sawant found that he could not get any relief from the King, he had to go in revolt in 1828. He seized the fort of Mahadeogad and successfully resisted all efforts of Sawantwadi Government to reduce him.[76]

Ram Sawant Bhonsle Tiravdekar informed Khem Sawant IV in about September 1828 that fifty or sixty men of Phond Sawant Desai Tambulkar are in charge of Aronda, Gulduve, Aros and Asoli.[77] Chandro Farjand received an order in December 1828 that Phond Sawant, Sabaji Sawant Kunkerkar and Rana Talgaonkar were harassing the ryots and therefore the three persons should be arrested and produced before him.[78] Phond Sawant was ordered by a mild letter to go to Huzur to explain why he had gone to the fort from his residence.[79] Khem Sawant IV was informed that Phond Sawant and four of his sons did not stay in the house and kept about fifty men to guard it. One of the sons had threatened to kill a man with his gun when he saved himself by saying he had a letter with him. But he was asked to tie the letter round his neck and threatened that he would be killed if he called again.[80] Khem Sawant IV was informed that Tambulkar had put three *chowkis* on the Parpolighat.[81]

A force was sent in order to reduce the Mahadeo Fort under Hari Govind Kothavla and others. But they could not capture the fort. There was a large amount of food grains, which had reached the fort from Verle, Sirsinge, Kalambist and Parpoli.[82] Khem Sawant IV then obtained the assistance of the British Government, and in 1830, a British detachment forced the evacuation of Phond Sawant's men from the fort and compelled them to flee into the adjoining territory of Ichulkaranjikar.[83]

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76. *Ibid.*, p. 8.
77. *Sawantwadi State Chitnishi Daftar* (Hereafter *Chitnishi Daftar*) Year not mentioned. The letter was written by the end of September, 1828.
78. *Ibid.*, Letter from the Darbar to Chandro Farjand, December 1, 1828.
79. *Ibid.*, Order dated December 20, 1828.
80. *Ibid.*, Letter to Khem Sawant IV, December 24, 1828.
81. *Ibid.*, Letter from Hari Govind Kothavla to Huzur, December 29, 1828.
82. *Ibid.*, Letters from Tato Raghunath Nerurkar to Khem Sawant IV, January 3, 1829, January 3, 1829, January 6, 1829, January 8, 1829 and January 11, 1829.
83. Courtney and Auld, *Memoir*, p. 8.

Phond Sawant captures Mahadeogad once again

In 1832, Phond Sawant Desai Tambulkar succeeded in capturing Mahadeogad once again. Phond Sawant's six sons, Rao Saheb Govindrao Patankar with his followers, the followers of Herekar and of Dadibai, and people from Amboli, Sangeli, Parpoli, Yerle and Kalambist, in all about five to six hundred, came and captured the fort. They said that they did not acknowledge the authority of *Ingraj bahadar* or *Raje bahadar.*[84] The main persons who had asked Dadibai to participate in the movement were Vithal Chandro Farjand, Sakho Chandro Farjand, Sado Sabo Farjand, Vithal Narayan Gaitonda, Ghanashyam Vasudeo Rajadiksh, Sakharam Jaganath Araundekar, Govindrao Patankar the Raoji of Here and Nesri, Bahirjirao *alias* Apajirao Patankar, Phond Sawant Tambulkar and his six sons.[85] In fact it was acknowledged by Khem Sawant IV that except for Rajashri Madhavrao Raje Sirkhe and Pokhrojirao Dharrao Nimbalkar, almost all other people had their connection with the "rebels".[86]

By the end of November, Desai Phond Sawant Tambulkar's men had taken the forts of Narayangad and Mahadeogad. But in the first week of December he came to know that from Belgaum a military force had started on December 4, 1832. After retaking the forts, they were handed over to him.[87]

Although Desai Phond Sawant and his sons continued their battle against the British invasion of the Sawantwadi territory, the British army was successful in settling terms of accommodation with the others who had joined Desai Phond Sawant. The struggle went on till 1838 when the British Government granted an amnesty to Phond Sawant.[88]

The decision to dismantle the fort of Mahadeogad was taken by the Commanding Officer on his own. The fort was close to the jungle and it was necessary to demolish its walls. The force had left Belgaum on December 4, 1832, reduced Mahadeogad on December 16 and the decision about the demolition was conveyed to the Durbar on December

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84. *Sawantwadi State Chitnishi Daftar*, Chitko Rudraji Nerurkar's witness, November 12, 1832.
85. *Ibid.*, Letter of November 13, 1832.
86. *Ibid.*, Letter from Khem Sawant IV to G. Giberne, Principal Collector of the Konkan, November 14, 1832.
87. *Ibid.*, Letter from G. Giberne to Khem Sawant IV, December 7, 1832.
88. Courtney and Auld, *Memoir*, p. 8.

25, 1832.[89] When one went to Mahadeogad about a hundred years later, he could see no trace of the remains of the walls or houses which housed the *killedar* or the *gadkaries* of the not so distant past.

Immediately after their defeat of Desai Phond Sawant in 1832, the British compelled Khem Sawant IV to sign an Agreement of IV. Articles of December 25, 1832 by which he bound himself not to remove his minister without the consent of the British Government, and to afford him every support in effecting a retrenchment in the expenditure.[90]

British take over Sawantwadi Land Customs

The British were not contented with having their commerce flowing without any interference on the sea coast of Sawantwadi. They had only in 1819 sequestered the coastal strip of Sawantwadi along with her ports. G. Giberne, who was the Principal Collector of the Konkan, had written in a letter to Norris, who was the Chief Secretary in the Political Department of the Government of Bombay, just two days after the Agreement of IV. Articles was signed, which read, "... goods from Vingorla to the Country above the Ghauts by the Military Road through Bandeh, Baitsee, via the Ramghaut, the heavy duties levied, and the arbitrary mode of proceeding by the Collectors of Customs in the Warree territory on this road are a constant source of contention and dispute; and the advantage of a good road are of little avail to the merchant when compared with the checks he meets in his progress; in fact they prefer conveying their goods by a circuitous route, to avoid the annoyance experienced in these territories.

"It would be advantageous in every point of view, were the British Government to hold the Customs on this road ... I would beg to propose an arrangement with the Rajah ... customs are levied on goods entering a pergunnah or turuf, so that it would not be advisable to make an exchange of territory, as we should have to take the pergunnahs through which the road passes; but we might take the average of the receipts on account of Customs on this road for the last five years, and deducting the amount now received from the Rajah annually amounting to Peerkhanee Rupees Seven thousand eight hundred and thirty four and one quarter ... pay the difference annualy to the Rajah, this would not be much.

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89. *Sawantwadi State Chitnishi Daftar*, Letters from G. Giberne to Khem Sawant IV, of December 7, 1832; from Dhondo Vishnu Apte, Vakil of the Company Government to the Raja, of December 16, 1832 and Memo of December 25, 1832.

90. Courtney and Auld, *Memoir*, p. 9.

"The Collections could be made by our main farmer of Customs at Baitsee only, and the road should thus be free from every Naka belonging to the Rajah."[91]

In a letter signed by Norris to the Collector of Ratnagiri, he stated, "if ... you can effect the arrangement suggested by Mr. Giberne, His Lordship-in-Council considers it will be a very advantageous one for the country."[92] On May 10, 1833, Burnett, first assistant to the Collector of Ratnagiri, had informed Norris that the Sawantwadi Government had agreed to transfer to the British Government its right of levying duties on the military road from Vengurla to Ramghat on condition of the payment of a pecuniary equivalent.[93] The average annual account of the Land Customs realized by Sawantwadi State from the *Nakas* of Bhedshi and Banda aggregated to Rs. 16,158.9.11. The sum of Rs. 6,150, which was yearly paid by him to *Huckdars* was however deducted from the amount and thus a balance of Rs. 10,008 was exhibited. All customs and duties imposed on goods on the whole road from Vengurla *Bunder* to the Ramghat were to be collected by the British Government alone. "In compensation," said Elliot, "for the advantages which the Raja is thus called upon to sacrifice, I propose to give him an entire exemption from the tribute he has hitherto paid to our Government." By offering him a trifling liberality, he says, they may gain a decided advantage of an arrangement that had long appeared so very desirable to them. That arrangement, he adds, would render them in future far more lucrative than they had proved up to that time or ever had contemplated.[94]

And it is one of the astounding mistakes that "... the Warree Government has signified their acquiescence in the proposed exchange of Customs and that after considerable difficulty accounts have been obtained from various quarters sufficient to form an Estimate of their value."[95]

In the end, the Sawantwadi Raja, in return of paying him Rs. 8,117-6-7, transferred to the British the right of levying duties on goods which

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91. *SSR/R.4/ADM-H.A./C1, Vol. I, Political and Administrative, Customs Ceded by the Vadi State to the British Government, 1835-36.*, Extract from a letter from G. Giberne to Chief Secretary in the Political Department, No. 28, December 27, 1832.
92. *Ibid.*, Extract from C. Norris, No. 118, January 15, 1833.
93. *Ibid.*, Letter to C. Norris from the Collector of Ratnagiri, No. 165, January 30, 1834.
94. *Ibid.*, G.L. Elliot, Collector, Suvernadurg District to H. Mathew, Secretary to Bombay Government, No. 122, December 10, 1834.
95. *Ibid.*, Extract from a letter from the First Assistant Collector to Collector of Ratnagiri, May 10, 1835.

proceeded to Vengurla and the top of the Ramghat "together with the transport", (*admarg suddha*). That is, the Raja vested only in the British the right to collect duty on goods conveyed in the first instance from any direction whatever, to the main line up to, and thus passing along up the Ramghat, and *vice versa*, on all goods coming from the Ramghat along the main road and from thence branching off that road and proceeding to any other place.[96]

They also proceeded to protect their Salt Revenues by preventing untaxed salt from being conveyed from Goa through the Sawantwadi territory into the Deccan. The British Government knew that they could not claim to use the Customs right along the road from Vengurla to Belgaum to stop the transit of goods between the Goa and Sawantwadi territories. But they wanted to possess the right to prevent Goa salt from passing into the Deccan. This object could be attained if the Raja ceded to the British Government the Custom *Nakas* on the whole line of the Sawantwadi frontier with Goa. The advantage of this would be that the British would remove all frontier *Nakas* which they were compelled to establish on the boundaries of the three States of Sawantwadi, Kolhapur and Satara, in order to prevent the trade whether in salt or any other articles from any ports but their own.[97]

British interference causes people's uprising

The British Government had once interfered with the internal affairs of Sawantwadi in 1832 in sending their armed forces against Phond Sawant Desai Tambulkar at Mahadeogad. They had ultimately suppressed the insurrection and demolished the fort of Mahadeogad. They intervened once again and compelled Raja Khem Sawant IV to sign the Agreement of IV. Articles restricting the Raja's right of controlling the administration. The East India Company got the transfer to themselves from the State of the Customs right from the port of Vengurla to the Ramghat in 1836. They signed on September 15, 1838 an Agreement of VI. Articles making the whole of the customs of Sawantwadi State the property of the East India Company. Apart from the shameful meddling in the home affairs of a State, which had signed a Treaty of Subsidiary Alliance with the East India Company, the Treaty itself had deprived the State of its ports and the

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96. *SSR/R 34/F-611/*, Elphinstone, Acting Collector to Reid, No.33, 27 of 1838.

97. *Ibid.*, Letter from L.R. Reid, Acting Chief Secretary, Bombay, to Elphinstone, Acting Collector, Ratnagiri, No. 2320, June 22, 1838 .

seaboard. The State's substantial revenue from sea customs had been taken over. And so were destroyed the people's rights of the ages old coastal and fishing trade.

Desai Phond Sawant was a Sardar and *killedar* who enjoyed tremendous influence in the State. He was able to head the insurrection of so many more Sardars who were in charge of border forts. The British took away their incomes when they absorbed the land customs by 1836 and 1838. The British had destroyed the whole class of Sardars and their fighting men bound together by traditional ties of loyalty and sustained by the livelihood which they received by way of property and salary. Their income was not coming in now and they were being held responsible for the disorder in the State and were being oppressed. The Raja could not do anything to replenish them of their income that had been given away by the State. There were armed disturbances in the villages. The *fouzdars* who had been appointed by the Desais, Sardars and Naiks could not put down the lack of safety on the roads. The Political Superintendent who had taken over the administration of the State in his own hands, appointed his own *fouzdars*. This was resented by the older authorities, which had possessed the right to appoint the *fouzdars*. In fact, the people who had been doing badly in the last few decades because of the virtual destruction of the trade across the sea began now to be deprived of their professions. Tyranny and oppression soon again raged throughout the country. The aggrieved people of this injustice sought redress and endeavoured by an appeal to arms to relieve the situation, which had resulted from the British intervention in their affairs.

British rule "de facto" over Sawantwadi

The British had only the objective of keeping the people who lived in the territories under their control so that they would not create any problem of law and order. The situation in Sawantwadi had arisen because they had created an economic situation by which the people had lost their living. They could use their armed forces to put down what they called a rebellion "to wring from their imbecile sovereign's fears what they were unable to obtain from his justice ... Rebellion, violence, bloodshed, and all the concomitant evils of a weak and vicious administration were the consequence; and instead of learning wisdom by the past, and introducing a better state of things, no sooner was the danger averted - no sooner had the rebellion been overawed, and reduced to obedience by the armed

intervention of the British Government, than the same system was again followed, to be again consummated by the same results."[98]

The account gives the correct picture except that the nominal ruler had not caused "a weak and vicious administration". It had been caused by the sequestration by the British of the ports, seacoast and the right of customs from Sawantwadi State. The State was also invaded by the British army since 1832, and after taking away all the rights from it, had appointed a Political Superintendent to rule the State *de facto* although the Raja happened to be the *de jure* ruler. The arrangement was illegal even according to the international law of the time. The removal of the Raja from all authority was considered to be an indispensable part of the arrangement they introduced. But they said the country had been placed temporarily under British management, to be thereafter to be restored to the Raja or his family when there should appear a sufficient prospect of governing it well.[99]

Another formidable people's rising in 1838

There was a serious disturbance in the various parts of the State in 1838 caused by the reductions effected in public expenditure by the Political Superintendent. A formidable uprising of Sardars and the armed forces broke out in the whole State. They marched out on the Sawantwadi fort and got possession of it along with the person of Raja Khem Sawant IV, his family and his minister. They captured the fort of Hanumantgad and blockaded the passes that led up to the Deccan. But the British army marched in and defeated the insurrection. The principal leaders were apprehended and punished and tranquility was restored once again.[100]

A military force was raised in the form of a local corps, and placed under the command of British officers. The expenses of the local corps were to be debited on the revenues of the State.[101]

But the disaffection continued to be severe. The turbulent nobles withdrew into Goa. From there they marched again on the Sawantwadi fort in a surprise attack and very nearly recaptured it in 1839. The country was

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98. Courtney and Auld, *Memoir*, p. 9.
99. *Ibid.*, p. 9.
100. *Ibid.*, p. 10.
101. *Ibid.*, p. 10.

smoldering with anger. This synchronized with the Kolhapur insurrection of 1844.[102]

War of independence from British rule

The Sawantwadi Sardars and people and the garrison of the fort of Manohargad had complete control over the territory. They attacked a number of places, which were manned by the local corps of the British and captured many of the State grain shops. Major Benbow and his forces were defeated and paralyzed. But Lieutenant Colonel Outram, who had been ordered to come to his rescue, came down with four companies of the 11th Regiment Native Infantry, and defeated the army of the Sardars in the Akeri pass. The position of the Sardars was immensely strengthened because of Desai Phond Sawant, a leading noble of great power, and his eight sons, were with them. [103]

Before the monsoon of 1844 had closed, the Political Superintendent received information from the Political Agent at Belgaum of the serious disturbances in Kolhapur territory. A detachment of forces was stationed immediately at the foot of the Hanumantgad.[104] But in spite of this measure, the *gadkarees* of Manohargad descended in force to the village of Gotos on October 10, 1844, burning all the papers in possession of the Sabnis of Manohargad. It was quite clear that they had joined the cause of the insurgents above the *ghats*. The next day the *gadkaries* came down in force and attacked the British forces at Dukanwadi. The British, in the name of Raja Khem Sawant IV, summoned all the *Sanadkaries* and other armed retainers and found they did not respond.[105]

Manohargad had about 500 men and Rangnagad 700. When the British attacked the Manohargad forces, the forces at Rangnagad joined them. They were threatened on all sides by large bodies of independent Sawantwadi forces. The armed men of Sawantwadi were operating all over the State almost every day. The British found matters becoming daily a more serious aspect. There were great instances of the success of the armed forces of Desai Phond Sawant and his men almost every day throughout the State. On October 30, 1844, a contingent of their forces

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102. Chaudhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 165.
103. Agaskar, 'Ratnagiri District' in Maharashtra State Gazetteer, Ratnagiri, 1962, p. 179; Chaudhuri, op. cit., p. 170; Khobrekar, V.G., *Ingraji Sattevirudha Maharashtrantil Sashastra Uthav*, 1818-1860, pp. 32-33.
104. Courtney and Auld, *Memoir*, pp. 13-14.
105. *Ibid.*, p. 14.

attacked some carts, with goods obviously, at the village of Sasoli on the Ramghat road, killing two of the cart men, and breaking open some casks of liquor under the impression that they contained gunpowder, and other military stores. The *gadkaries* of Manohargad again attacked the village of Dukanwadi, from which they had forced the withdrawal of the British forces, and carried off a quantity of grains. Similar serious incidents were taking place in all quarters throughout the State during the month of November 1844. Desai Phond Sawant, whose ability as commander of the guerrilla forces was noticed even by the British authorities of the times, and his eight sons, openly espoused the anti-British cause of the people of the State.[106]

Heir Apparent's lead against British political control

Baba Desai, a son of Desai Phond Sawant, was waiting with a contingent of armed forces near at hand for the heir apparent, Phond Sawant *alias* Anna Saheb, to join openly the people of Sawantwadi. On November 16, 1844, he went off to Manohargad to head the Sawantwadi fight against the British who had got control of it illegally through its armed forces. These developments were reported to the Political Agent at Belgaum and information was sent to Kolhapur.[107]

Anna Saheb was not yet sixteen years of age, an age, which was considered to be mature for marriage, administration and for being the head of State and of the army. In spite of rumours that an important person was likely to take the lead of the independent Sawantwadi State against the British, no one had suspected Phond Sawant Anna Saheb to take the leadership of his people. Sardar Phond Sawant and his emissaries had close links with him and he had voluntarily headed the Sawantwadi struggle for freedom. Anna Saheb's taking the position as the head of the free State gave his people the power and grandeur of royal patronage. His influence and power was tremendous and the whole State was fully at war with the alien British ruler.[108]

The Sawantwadi forces had put Anna Saheb beyond the reach of pursuit till he reached Manohargad. The *gadkaries*, in honour of his arrival

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106. *Ibid.*, p. 15.
107. *Ibid.*,
108. *Ibid.*, pp. 15-16.

in the fortress, fired a salute on the occasion, which was distinctly heard at Wadi.[109]

Auld, a British officer at Sawantwadi at that time, reports in the *Memoir of the Sawunt Waree State*, that the Sawantwadi army led by Phond Sawant had entrenched itself in the strong and difficult country under the ghats, and had stockaded the passes leading to the villages. He also tells us that about 200 men from Kolhapur and a number of people from the Goa frontier had joined their forces. The people's army began to assume a more formidable aspect. Orders were issued in the name of the Government under the signature of Raja Phond Sawant Bahadur that the revenue due to the State was to be paid to him. The Political Superintendent issued proclamations prohibiting such payments to the new King and strictly forbidding the citizens from joining, what he called, the "rebellion".[110]

Sardars' army had popular support

On November 19, 1844, an army of Raja Phond Sawant came very close to the gate of Wadi firing their matchlocks and blowing their horns. But on the Fort being defended by the local corps, they withdrew in the direction of their strongholds in the hills.[111]

The British Government had tried to win over Desai Phond Sawant Tambulkar and his sons by ignoring their former action at Mahadeogad against Raja Khem Sawant IV and the British army. When they had reduced the "Nemnuk" of almost every Sardar of the State, they had endeavoured to keep them away from those aggrieved by granting Desai Phond Sawant and his sons a very handsome allowance, which was afterwards increased one-third. The villages, which had been confiscated from them, were restored to them. A large house was expressly set aside for them for occupation if they visited Wadi. The British had shown no interference with the retainers, no mistrust of their armed followers, and no suspicion of their fidelity. They had been treated in all respects and on all occasions with marked distinction and honour. And the most ready and open confidence in their good faith was displayed before the eyes of the community. But the Desai Fond Sawant family was not tempted by these

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109. *Ibid.*, p. 16.

110. *Ibid.*, pp. 16, 17.

111. *Ibid.*, p. 17.

attentions when the whole policy of the British towards the State was leading to its ruination.[112]

Hir Sawant Dingnekar, a Sardar of Sawantwadi, was another leader of the army of the people. He led a number of followers and blocked the Bhedshi outpost. The Ramghat road communication was entirely shut off for a length of time. As the high road was closed, great facilities were enjoyed by the army of the people in getting great quantities of ammunition from across the Goa frontier. The Desais of the former Sawantwadi territories, which were taken by Goa, had numerous opportunities of assisting the army of the Sardars. They obtained large quantities of supplies of materials for making gunpowder from the Deccan and set up factories of their own in the jungles of Shivapur and Shirsinge. [113]

The Desais had a grievance that their *Huks* on the customs had been taken away by the British Government. They also complained that their right to nominate the *Fouzdars* of their villages had been taken away by the English administration. They had refused to let the English Government to appoint the *Fouzdars* because they themselves were at the head of the police in their jurisdiction. But Courtney had decided to appoint the *Fouzdars* to the villages although no restoration of the *Huks* was agreed upon. The village headmen could not do their duties without proper remuneration.[114]

About the middle of January 1845, Subhana Nikam, an important leader, had escaped from the British Army at Belgaum, and had been dispatched by the independent army to the north including Malwan and its neighbourhood. He issued proclamations inviting all good Hindus to join him immediately and succeeded in getting the spirited people to his cause.[115]

About the same time, Daji Lakshman Kala, who formerly had been a personal servant of Raja Phond Sawant, became famous by collecting the revenues of the State of Sawantwadi from the Turufs of Varad and Pendur.[116]

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112. *Ibid.*, p. 17.
113. *Ibid.*, p. 20.
114. *Ibid.*, p. 21.
115. *Ibid.*, p. 19.
116. *Ibid.*, pp. 19, 20.

In the last week of November 1844, Major Benbow ordered the English forces to take the post at the village of Sangeli, about six or seven kilometers from Kalambist, Sardar Phond Sawant's village. The British forces were attacked by a body of Sawantwadi forces under the command of Sardar Phond Sawant's sons and were defeated. The British forces were obliged to fall back on Madkhol.[117]

Shortly after this defeat of Major Benbow's forces, the Sawantwadi forces made an attempt with all their powers to induce the Sawantwadi Local Corps to join their side. The letter on this subject from Tan Sawant, *alias* Baba Desai, one of the sons of Sardar Phond Sawant, was handed over to Major Benbow. The English, therefore, acted quickly to hand over very substantial cash and service awards to those who had been approached by the Sawantwadi forces to cross over.[118]

But by January 1845, the new Government of Raja Phond Sawant had the support of people throughout the length and breadth of the State. Even in the vicinity of their military posts, the British forces found it unsafe to move in any direction without a strong escort, and not always even then. Two British officers traveling with a strong escort were fired upon in the jungle near Banda and one of them died the same evening. The nature of the country, covered for miles on every side with densely thick jungle, made attacks of this kind impossible to avert. Such surprise attacks were common even in the neighbourhood of the military outposts, and where they were indefatigable in patrolling in every direction.[119]

In their attempt to stop the progress of this popular movement, the British issued orders to assemble the *Gaonkars*, Kulkarnies and *Fouzdars* with the view of trying to make them in some way responsible for their villages. They were asked to account for those who were absent, to produce all arms in the village, and to cut down as far as practicable the jungle in their vicinity. Attempts were also made to intimidate the others of giving assistance or shelter. Rewards were announced for information about the people who had joined the movement. But nothing was in effect. The spirit of independence had already spread all over the State.[120]

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117. *Ibid.*, p. 17.
118. *Ibid.*, pp. 17, 18.
119. *Ibid.*, p. 18.
120. *Ibid.*, p. 18.

The British were able to get two traitors to the freedom movement enlisted on their side, one Baburao Rane and the other one of the Banda Subhedars, to enlist in their army fifty men each on a monthly salary of Rs. Four and be under the Kudal and Banda Kamavisdars. Martial Law was proclaimed on January 14, 1845 and another proclamation was issued in a few days asking people to return to their occupation under a promise of pardon for the past.[121]

Invasion by British army under Major General DelaMotte

Major General DelaMotte was appointed by the British Government to fight the movement for independence of the Sawantwadi people. He encamped at the top of the Hanumant Ghat and made the head quarters of his force at Nangertas. Two field detachments were lowered down the Hanumantghat. One of these was under Lieutenant Colonel Carruthers and it was encamped at the foot of the Hanumantghat. The other detachment was under Colonel Wallace and he had posted it on the crest of a hill overlooking the Shivapur valley, between the Hanumantghat and a hill called Sushedurg. Colonel Wallace threw shot and shell into Shivapur from the hill where he was encamped, thus making the position of Sardar Phond Sawant's army very unpleasant and unsafe. Lieutenant Colonel Outram had got the whole of his available force down the Ghat and marched on Kalambist.[122]

The British force engaged in fighting the independence movement of Sawantwadi below the Ghats consisted of a wing of a battalion, one company of foot, one regiment, three detachments, one regiment from Madras, three detachments from Madras, a detachment of horse, one company of Sappers and Miners and a very considerable force in Belgaum and Kolhapur under the immediate command of Major General DalaMotte.[123]

British troops were starved and harassed by guerrillas

The British "troops had most harassing duties to perform" in this war. The country of Sawantwadi had "so many remarkable facilities for irregular warfare, that it often happened that the results of the best laid plans proved most unsatisfactory. There was no want of secret enemies to

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121. *Ibid.*, p. 19.
122. *Ibid.*, p. 19.
123. *Ibid.*, p. 27.

the introduction of British rule at Waree, but where an open foe could seldom be met with, the troops employed in quelling the disturbances were rarely engaged in fair fight. The system that had to be pursued was one of hunting the rebels out of their strongholds and dense jungles...'[124]

In December 1844, the army requested the supply to be dispatched forthwith as nothing could be procured there or in the surrounding villages as they were under the entire control of Sardar Phond Sawant and his people. At Belgaum, they had to apply for an Escort to proceed to Ramghat to relieve the Escort from Vengurla. "...nothing can be procured *here* or in the surrounding villages which are now under the entire control of Phont Sawunt and his gang."[125] There was a "scarcity supply of carriage, pack Bullocks being the only cattle fit to travel this way and further the Villages being deserted no supply can be had, the route being bad and unsafe to travel neither could any Cattle be procurable..." This was the *Most Urgent* message from the Camp at Dukanwad by the end of 1844. The same letter also observes that there was "but no Cattle to kill for European troops, as also Scanty Supply of Carriage. Pack Bullocks being the only Cattle fit to travel this way and further the Villagers being deserted no supply can be had, the route being bad and unsafe to travel neither could any Cattle be procurable at Warree ... or else I shall be obliged to kill the public Carriages."[126]

By another letter, Captain Threshie advised Lieutenant Colonel Dunsterville that they should exert themselves to the utmost. They should scour the country in every direction for cattle and grains. They should take what they actually needed, offering payment when the owners were present and refused to sell. He observed that about three miles from his camp he could see villages with many heads of cattle and also villagers taking grain from the fields. He therefore felt that they would provide themselves with cattle for slaughter.[127]

On January 2, 1845, the Brigadier Commanding the Southern Konkan was to move, at the request of Major General DelaMotte, with all the disposable force available to reinforce Sawantwadi. The detachment at

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124. *Ibid.*, p. 27.

125. *MA/Military Department, 1845-46, No. 270*, Letter from Field Force Sawunt Warree, Commissary Office, to the Commissary General of the Army, Bombay, No. 20 of 1844 of December 23, 1844, pp. 65, 66.

126. *Ibid.*, Letter from Camp Dookanwadie to Captain Threshie marked *Most Urgent*, No. 25 of 1844, December 28, 1844, p. 81.

127. *Ibid.*, Letter from Threshie to Dunsterville, No.187, December 29, 1844, p. 83.

Kankawli was directed to move as early as possible either at Kudal or Mangaon.[128]

The Commander in Chief was informed that the greatest difficulty existed in supplying the troops at Sawantwadi and below the Ghats because of the scarcity of carriage.[129] The troops under Major General DelaMotte, especially the Detachment under Lieutenant Colonel Carruthers and the Native portion particularly, were ill supplied with provisions. The provisions of Vengurla and Sawantwadi were nearly exhausted. And there was a total want of carriage to convey such provisions as could be procured from these places to the Camp below Fort Manohar.[130]

A considerable supply of cutting and filling implements had been sent from Pune and a Company of pioneer *bigaries* from Ahmednagar equipped with a large supply was sent to Vengurla. Tent Laskars attached to the Bombay Regiments were also furnished with them and it was presumed that there was a large supply in the Belgaum arsenal. If that was not the case, it was directed to furnish a complete supply via Vengurla [131]without delay. It was recommended that four hundred able bodied men were to be enlisted in Mumbai and sent to Vengurla equipped with cutting and felling tools to work as pioneer coolies. It was observed that every man so sent would be employed as a pioneer and would place a soldier at the disposal of Major General DelaMotte.[132]

Thus it should be clear that the army, which was scattered all over the State above the mountain and below the ghats under the command of Major General DelaMotte, was facing acute problems of provisions for the European and native soldiers. They could not get the cattle for slaughtering or for transport. Although it was the season for gathering the agricultural produce, the army could not get any supply of the food grains. Besides, they had no control over the communication, which lay through thick jungles over hills and dales. The Sawantwadi soldiers, who were well equipped with guns and musketry and were well supplied with gunpowder,

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128. *Ibid.*, January 2, 1845, pp. 155-156.

129. *Ibid.*, Letter from Head Quarters, Bombay, to the Commissary General, Bombay, No.72, January 6, 1845.

130. *Ibid.*, Letter from Head Quarters to the Secretary to Government, Secret Department, Bombay, No. 88, January 7, 1845, p. 53.

131. *Ibid.*, Extracts from proceedings of Government in Political Department, No. 17 of 1845, pp. 3-5. Extracts paras 3 and 5 from the Quarter Master General of the Army of January 9, 1845.

132. *Ibid.*

which was made from the materials obtained from the Deccan and from Goa, could attack the army by guerrilla warfare with comparative safety. The guides to various places were not available to the British contingents. This was because of the total uprising of Sawantwadi State where they could find only a few traitors who were willing to cooperate with them.

But British artillery proved itself victorious

As Colonel Wallace was firing and shelling from the elevated position he had captured into Shivapur, the army of Sawantwadi removed their families and effects into the neighbouring jungles of Parpoli, Verle and Shirshinge. The Phond Sawants had also conveyed their wives, children and property there and had large quantities of grain as a shelter in the dense jungle if they were to lose Manohargad.[133]

In spite of such formidable preparations, which were going on, the spirit of the Sawantwadi army towards the end of January 1845 seemed to be considerably broken. There took place numerous desertions from their cause almost daily. The collection of the public revenues, which had been suspended for a length of time, again commenced, and the inhabitants of many of the villages began to return to their homes and occupations.[134]

The most shameful example of the treachery of Parmekar Desai, not only to the cause of the people but also to the blood of a brother, was shown in the transfer to himself of the entire property of several villages. The British were the tempters and the ultimate beneficiaries of this treachery. One of the most important leaders of the movement for independence was, as we have noticed, Hir Sawant Dingnekar. Huwelkar Desai and Usapkar Desai supported him. The Parmekar Desai sought the chance of getting the property of his brother, which was to be confiscated by the British in case the Sardars lost the war of independence. He began to show his attachment to the British and performed services which brought him the vengeance and enmity of his brethren.[135]

The Parmekar Desai got the half share of estates and rights held by Usapkar Desai once the latter forfeited his rights to them. The Parmekar Desai being at that time childless, the British Government directed, as

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133. Courtney and Auld, *Memoir*, p. 20.
134. *Ibid.*, p. 20.
135. *Ibid.*, pp. 20, 21.

another way of testifying how highly his services were appreciated, that permission should be given him to adopt a son.[136]

Fall of Manohargad and fight in the jungles

Although large bodies of British regular troops occupied the country in every direction, they could hardly suppress the Sawantwadi troops as they were concealed in a densely thick jungle. But the force under Major General DelaMotte had taken possession of the forts of Manohargad and Manasantoshgad on January 27, 1845. It was found that Raja Phond Sawant's garrison had evacuated during the night, and made their escape in the direction of the Goa frontier. The force under Colonel Outram closely followed them. They joined the forces under Usapkar Desai and Huweli Desai who had their villages on the Goa border. They were attacked and routed with considerable loss, and compelled to seek shelter in the southern boundary of the State, and in the neighbouring Portuguese possessions.[137]

A proclamation of the British Government of February 13, 1845 offered a reward of Rs. 3,000 for the apprehension of Desai Phond Sawant's three elder sons. They were Bhim Sawant *alias* Nana Desai, Tan Sawant *alias* Baba Desai, and Hanmant Sawant. Another sum of Rs. 1,000 each was offered for Apu Desai and Phond Sawant himself, now more than eighty years of age but still strong and healthy.[138]

After evacuating Manohargad and Manasantoshgad, the Sawant-wadi army surrounded Bhedshi. There were the Usapkar Desai and Huvelkar Desai, the villagers of the surrounding area and the *sunudkari* sepoys of the fort of Awara who joined and threatened to attack the British military post at Bhedshi. But hearing of Colonel Outram's army being on the march, they abandoned their attempt.[139]

The Huvelkar Desai had established a Chowki at Mulas at the foot of the Ramghat. He had dug deep trenches across the road to stop the passage of British troops from Belgaum. The Usapkar Desai had dug trenches at Mangelighat. There were attacks on the Goa border and the forces could retire across to Goa if required.[140]

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136. *Ibid.*, p. 21.
137. *Ibid.*, pp. 21, 22.
138. *Ibid.*, p. 22.
139. *Ibid.*, p. 22.
140. *Ibid.*, p. 22.

Raja Phond Sawant IV, *alias* Anna Saheb, who still assumed the rulership of the Sawantwadi State, Sardar Phond Sawant Tambulkar Desai together with his sons, and forces at Manohargad, took their position in Kolbag jungle, between Neturde and Mope. From there they went to the dense jungles of Jogsawantachiwadi. They went in the end in the neighbourhood of Hodavde in Pedne in the Goa possession.[141]

The Usapkar Desai and Huvelkar Desai had become famous as leaders of the movement in the neighbourhood of Bhedshi at the foot of the Ramghat. The force under Colonel Outram had "considerable difficulty and opposition" from them and ultimately they fought their usual guerrilla warfare from the thick jungles which surrounded their villages and active operations against them were given up.[142]

Thus was over the struggle for independence of the subjects of Sawantwadi from the British rule. The foreign rulers had now come to stay and the people had to content themselves by living in poverty in the political, economic and social conditions, which were now fashioned by the British for their own glory.

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141. *Ibid.*, p. 22.
142. *Ibid.*, p. 23.

Chapter 4

BRITISH IMPERIAL OBJECTIVES REALIZED IN SAWANTWADI

Unsuccessful People's War for their livelihood

CAPTAIN LEGRAND JACOB, who had been appointed an additional Aid-de-Camp to Major General DelaMotte, had received a report from Lieutenant Colonel Aqitor, In Charge at Head Quarters, about the insurrection in Sawantwadi. He observed that the country had been affected to a great extent and tried to find the probable cause of so great a rising.[1] There "would appear a general belief that successful military operation to the Eastward of the Capital would have brought a corresponding advantage Enhanced only by its following more immediately on the outbreak of the Insurrection."[2] This comment seems to be true in connection with the advantage that was obtained by General DelaMotte when he established the Head Quarters of the army at Nangertas, a few miles to the North of Amboli, at the top of the Hanumantghat. It was impossible for him to get access to Manohargad through Ramghat or Parpolighat, which were guarded by the Sawantwadi troops. The facility of lowering the guns and army to Dukanwad was done by him through Hanumantghat. He could observe the army under Lieutenant Colonel Carruthers at the foot of the mountain and Colonel Wallace firing the British guns from his position on a hilltop into Shivapur. The position of the Sawantwadi army was strong at Manohargad and the surrounding area and the Sardars and people all over the State supported it. Once the power of the army was made untenable by the bombardment by Colonel Wallace and the fort of Manohargad had to be evacuated, the back of the independence army was broken. The Usapkar Desai and Huwelkar Desai were able to hold their own to the last. The army of the British succeeded in the four-month's war because of the endurance they showed till they were able to conquer Manohargad and the army of Sardar Phond Sawant had begun to return back to their villages. But the army under Phond Sawant and his sons had to be pursued beyond the

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1. *Sawantwadi State Records* (Hereafter *SSR*) */R 4/ADM-31 H.A./G-4 Vol. I*, Letter from Lt. Col. Aqitor, In Charge at Head. Quarters, 10 Regt. Inf. to Jacob, No. 137, April 15, 1845, p. 207.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 208.

boundary to Goa in order to win the war. The rest of the people returned to their villages and every thing was quiet except for taking revenge for wresting the trade from the British grasp.

The mass of inhabitants of the interior of the State had returned to their homes where they pursued their usual occupations under British military surveillance. This gave a semblance of peace where peace did not exist in reality.[3]

Powerful Britain brings weaker State to helpless domination

The entire domination by British trade in industrialized manufactures, the powerful navy and army which made it possible to acquire the ports and important territory which could be exploited, and the diplomacy which helped to manage the problems arising on the way, these were the highlighted activities which stand forth in the history of Sawantwadi from c.1750 to c.1850. The state of Great Britain had traded with Sawantwadi for more than two hundred years so far.

Peace with LeGrand Jacob replacing Courtney

In March 1845, there was an inquiry made from Courtney by the Chief Secretary in Bombay to which Courtney replied that the duties of his office were "carried on at Warree itself where the Minister, the Chitnaver's and all the officers of the State always reside ... I have not been in the habit of leaving the Capital, unless called away by some particular duty."[4] The Government in Council informed Courtney in reply that it was important to inspect the District under his charge and more especially the villages belonging to Desai Phond Sawant family.[5] Captain LeGrand Jacob had taken charge from Courtney on March 24, 1845.[6] He was earlier appointed as an extra Aid-de-Camp to Major General DelaMotte and was known as a highly talented officer and good linguist and scholar.[7] He took over as Political Superintendent of Sawantwadi and started the difficult task of restoring peace in the troubled region. He also reduced the facilities at Manohargad so that it could not be used as a stronghold by

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3. *Ibid.*, p. 207.
4. *Ibid.*, Letter from Chief Secretary Willoughby to William Courtney, No. 1218 of March 8, 1845, p. 177 and Courtney's reply of March 14, 1845, p. 179.
5. *Ibid.*, Letter from Willoughby to Courtney, No. 1521, March 24, 1845, p. 183.
6. *Ibid.*, Letter from LeGrand Jacob to Willoughby, No. 98, March 24, 1845, p.189.
7. *Maharashtra State Archives* (Hereafter *MSA*) */Military Department*, (Hereafter *MD*), *1845-46, Vol. 270*, Extracts from the proceedings of Government in Political Department, No. 17 of 1845.

any armed force and made his mark as scholar by contributing articles to scholarly journals.

British won war against dejected people

Captain LeGrand Jacob took up his appointment on March 24, 1845. He was known as an extremely gifted officer and had proved his ability when he worked under Major General DelaMotte at Nangertas. The Governor in Council of Bombay was impressed by his efficiency and had decided to appoint him as Political Superintendent in this territory instead of selecting one from the Indian Civil Service.

The British in spite of severe difficulties of communications had just won the war. The people had strictly restricted the food supply to the army although it was the season when the supplies were gathered in. They had great difficulties in reducing a formidable Fort defended by fearless soldiers who disappeared from hundreds of meters of height when the British army invaded it. And the victorious army did not know from whence they had gone. The dense jungles of Sawantwadi confronted the army with guerrilla warfare with which the soldiers of Sawantwadi were extremely well acquainted. And when the army of Sawantwadi was defeated, it crossed the frontier of the Portuguese territory of Goa from where it could not be extradited. Captain LeGrand Jacob was expected to tranquilize the entire situation and to reconcile the discontented people with a reconciliatory policy.

The people of Sawantwadi were seething with disappointment and discontent when their war with the British was lost just then. The war had the support of all the people because they were losing the old administration on which they depended for their living. The soldiers had returned to the villages and were waiting for retaliatory action from the British controlled Government. This was the time when a policy was to be evolved to conciliate the people with the loss of income, which the defeat in the war finally made certain. And the people should be compelled to accept the policy, which had thus far succeeded in giving the British the sea forts and the territory along the entire seashore. The control of the Ramghat and the road from Vengurla to Chowkul by the British should be reconciled with the trade they had lost. So had indeed the taking over by the British of the sea and land customs and of the salt taxes to be received by the people who had known how the old system had worked. These concessions were in the interest of the commerce of the home country as

far as the British were concerned and had to be continued. The choice of the policy, which was to be implemented, was therefore difficult.

Post-war situation reported officially to Jacob

The letter from Lieutenant Colonel Aqitor to Captain Jacob had said that till that time, all the villages on the frontier had been deserted and the inhabitants had fled. He thought it necessary to examine the rapid spread of the rising through the entire Sawantwadi State.[8] The houses and the property of those villagers who had fled did in no instance appear to have suffered at the hands of the Sawantwadi party. They found the fighters and the peasants residing together in good fellowship in the same village within the Goa territory. The only persons injured by the Sawantwadi army were those who were assisting the British.[9] The representatives of the British in each village were the Fouzdar, Kulkarni and Gaonkar. These officers were supposed to be united in their exertions in maintaining peace in their village. It was, however, observed by the British that their "true interest was the very reverse and ... the abandonment of their Posts is no less than might have been expected."[10]

The peace of the State was disturbed during the insurrection and the collection of money and kind had been suspended in consequence of the attacks by Desai Phond Sawant's army. It was not possible "to save any portion of the public revenue from the hands of the rebels, to issue orders to the Kamavisdars to receive payment of the grain revenue that year either in kind or in cash at the same rates of commutation as those of last year."[11]

Jacob observes that the whole of Sawantwadi State had been convulsed by the war and that order was only gradually being restored. The villages on the Goa frontier were deserted more than others.[12]

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8. *SSR/R 4/ADM-31 H.A./G-4 Vol. I*, Letter from Lt. Col. Aqitor to Jacob, No. 137, April 15, 1845, p. 209.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 210.
10. *Ibid.*, p.212.
11. *SSR/R 4/ADM-31 H.A./G-1 Vol. I, Administrative General 1839-56*, from Political Superintendent to Chief Secretary, Bombay, No. 632, February 3, 1845, pp. 32-33.
12. *Ibid.*, From Political Superintendent to Chief Secretary to Governor, Bombay, No. 112, April 12,1845, p. 37.

British take corrective administrative measures

Considering the intensity and spread of the disappointment, the British had given pardon at the discretion of the Political Superintendent. Jacob proposed that the pardon should be extended to all leaders of the insurrection for a short time. But he suggested that in case they did not return in the given time, their lands should be put up for auction.[13] The discretion of the Political Superintendent extended to those cases in which individuals in the course of the insurrection killed persons. These were called atrocities committed by the people against individuals known to be in the service of the British. A servant of the Political Superintendent carrying bread was murdered at Malgaon and two Muslims who had formerly given evidence in a case of theft against an insurgent were murdered at Arosi. A peon of the Custom Department had been killed at Aronda. Hari Beku Birkar and others executed Krishnaji BAL Shenvi and Atmaram Krishna at Neroda concerning a long existed feud over land.[14] These and other cases of killing, which were considered as murders, were to be tried in Courts of Law and punished according to their verdicts.

In the case of *Fouzdars*, a reference to the *Yad* or Instruction showed that most onerous duties were imposed upon them. In default of these duties, they were to suffer severe punishment. But an advantage could be discovered when an immediate gain like evasion of revenue was to be derived from flight, a *Fouzdar* would remain at his post in danger from the violence of rebellion on the one hand or punishment for inactivity in discharging the duties of an unpaid office on the other. They would doubtlessly remain at their homes and perform their duties. But when troubles arose, one might have expected to see them pursue that course tending to their own immediate benefit.[15] The Fouzdars defaulting of their duties could be exonerated on these grounds.

However, the case was different in respect of the Kulkarni and the Gaonkar as they derived emolument of their *Tee Hak* as collected by themselves directly from the villagers. The Government, which had no interested agent on the spot, was unknown to the subject as a protective power seeking only his welfare. And so the Kulkarni and the Gaonkar were not held responsible for ignoring the Government orders.[16]

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13. *Ibid.*, p. 38.
14. *SSR/R 4/ADM-31 H.A./G-4 Vol. I,* from Aqilor to Jacob, No. 137 of April 15, 1845, p. 211.
15. *Ibid.*, pp.212-213.
16. *Ibid.*, pp. 213-214.

Efforts to punish leaders of Independence frustrated

When the army of Desai Phond Sawant had crossed the border into Goa, the British Government tried to get them extradited. But the Portuguese Government did not provide any satisfactory information of the measures it sought to adopt. Nor could it be ascertained from them what steps they wanted to take against the Goan subjects who had helped by providing ammunition to the Sawantwadi army. Major Jacob then tried to get in communication with the Governor General of Goa. But his efforts were equally unsatisfactory. The question of surrendering Desai Phond Sawant and his famous sons, together with Raja Khem Sawant Bahadur's son Anna Saheb and many other chiefs had been rejected. They in fact had sought and found an asylum in the Portuguese territory. Their total number was 161. There were about 20 of them who were influential.[17]

Their accommodation and treatment in Goa were excellent. But in May 1847 they tried to return to their home if they could find pardon. They sent a packet to Major Jacob containing letters from Huvelkar Desai, Usapkar Desai, Tambulkar Desai, Bapu Ghatge and others. There were 92 of them who asked for pardon and for restoration to their former status.[18]

The younger sons of Desai Phond Sawant's second wife had sent the petitions. But none had been received from Nana Desai, Baba Desai, Appu Desai and Hanmant Desai. They were the leaders of the fight for independence who had become famous in the war, which had lasted intermittently from 1828 to 1845. They continued to maintain their enmity to the British rule secured through diplomatic jugglery. Although the British army had intervened by the request of the Sawantwadi Government in 1830, they had again to interfere militarily in the affairs of the State in 1832. The British dismantled the fort of Mahadeogad at this time. The struggle was continued up to 1838 when the British granted amnesty to Desai Phond Sawant. In the meanwhile the whole of the customs of Sawantwadi State had been taken over by the East India Company. And in 1838 the British Government replaced the rule of the Raja. The economic suffering of the people was so severe that they started a war of independence under the leadership of Desai Phond Sawant. Desai Phond Sawant and his four sons became famous in the battles of Manohargad.

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17. Courtney, W., and Auld, J.W., *Memoir on the Sawunt Waree State*,(Hereafter Courtney and Auld, *Memoir*), pp. 23-24.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 24.

When the war was lost, they had asked for asylum from the Portuguese at Goa and it was generously given in spite of the opposition of the European Power of Great Britain. They had lived in prosperity supported by the income from several villages in addition to the income of Sardars of the highest rank. But it was great of them to continue the hard feelings to the British in times of defeat. The names of Phond Sawant and the four sons, Nana Desai, Baba Desai, Appu Desai and Hanmant Desai, should have been remembered by the people of South Konkan as the heroes to a cause to save the old order although, as is clear only now, it was too late to try. The people of the South Konkan remember the century and a half old heroes of the war independence as the leaders of a "revolt" by discontented persons.

Anna Saheb had addressed a letter to his uncle Aba Saheb Patankar to intercede for pardon in his behalf and for permission to return to Sawantwadi. The letter was duly laid before the Political Superintendent.[19]

Major Jacob transmitted the petitions for pardon for information and instructions to the Government in May 1847. He said in his covering letter that public order would not suffer by any clemency that might be shown to the humbler followers who had not personally committed any atrocity. He said further in relation to the young prince Anna Saheb that he was doubtlessly made a mere tool by the intriguing and dangerous family of Kalambist, from whose grasp, after the one fatal step, he was never able to extricate himself.[20]

At about the same time, the Government of Portugal recommended to the Government of Great Britain the grant of a general pardon to the Sawantwadi refugees in Goa. The Bombay Government then consulted Major Jacob who said that Baba Desai, who was the real head of the Sawantwadi forces, should not be extended clemency. The whole Tambulkar family cordially supported him. He also said that it was not at all advisable to pardon Desai Phond Sawant and his two elder sons, Nana Desai and Hanmant Desai. He doubted the propriety of pardoning Usapkar Desai and Haveli Desai and Bhonsle Sardars at that time though he thought that mercy might be extended to them eventually. But he was positive that some men of less rank, as Hir Sawant Dingnekar, Baba

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19. *Ibid.*, p. 24.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 24.

Bhogta, Yesu Kubal, Phutam Bhat, Nana Talganokar and others, should not be forgiven. He recommended that after a time, the younger sons of Desai Phond Sawant might perhaps be forgiven. But he was in favour of clemency being extended to Anna Saheb, the eldest son of Khemraj IV, subject to certain conditions.[21]

The Bombay Government made the final grant of authority in this matter in May 1848 to the Political Superintendent. It gave him powers to permit the minor participants in the insurrection to come from Goa to Sawantwadi under a promise of free pardon being extended to them for their past offences. They were however to furnish security for their future good conduct.[22]

The Usapkar Desai, the Huvelkar Desai and the four sons of Desai Phond Sawant by his youngest wife, as well as his grandson, accordingly returned to Sawantwadi State. Four of those who had returned were accused of committing atrocious crimes and were sentenced according to the merits of their deed.[23]

Anna Saheb returned from Goa to Sawantwadi on August 21, 1849. He was allowed to reside there on a pension of Rs. 100 per month. But all the rights he had possessed were forfeited from him.[24] The allowance made by the Government to the persons who had come back was only subsistence money from their confiscated estates. The four sons and a grandson of Desai Phond Sawant were given only trifling allowances for their support.[25]

Phond Sawant and followers live with dignity and honour

The Portuguese Government with honour and dignity treated the remaining Sardars and followers who continued to remain in Goa. Desai Phond Sawant had been the Killedar of Mahadeogad who had been famous in the battles since 1828. He had started the rebellion against the Raja of Sawantwadi and continued the fight against the alien British in an inherent fight of the people for maintaining the old political and economic order. In spite of his tremendous efforts, this hero of Mahadeogad and Manohargad had ultimately failed against the might of the emerging British

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21. *Ibid.*, p. 25.
22. *Ibid.*
23. *Ibid.*, pp. 25-26.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 26.
25. *Ibid.*, pp. 26-27.

Empire. He, who had refused to surrender to the diplomatic pressure of losing the honours and prestige of the rank he enjoyed in the hierarchy, was certainly right in trying to maintain the old order. His failure brought nothing but misery to the Sardars, Darakdars, the officers of the State, the soldiers and the sailors, the merchants and traders as well as the common people of Tal-Konkan. The British went ahead prospering till they became the most powerful Empire in the world. The people of Sawantwadi had to struggle in adverse circumstances to raise their head again during the century, which followed, although they were destroyed by defeat and dejection.

The Government of Goa had not kept the militant refugees in safe custody. It was well known that certain of them had been employed and furnished with arms and armed followers. They were used by the Goa Government in the suppression of the long existing unhappy confusion which had prevailed in their Sattari Mahal.

They conducted themselves honestly and properly and gave the Goa Government no cause to repent the confidence they had reposed in them.[26]

British army moved out of Sawantwadi

A large British force had been operating in fighting the army of the people under Desai Phond Sawant, the Raja Bahadur Phond Sawant, and the various Desais and Sardars. Various bodies of troops were sent there from Bombay, Pune, Kolhapur, Belgaum and Madras. They had been rushed into the territory of Sawantwadi to fight the rising of the people for their liberation. They were to put down the fight under the immediate command of Major General Delamotte. They had most harassing duties to undergo. And they were in the end happy that they concluded in winning their duel with the people in their strongholds and dense jungles.[27]

The army below the mountains consisted of the left 2nd Queen's royals; one company of Her Majesty's 17th foot; the 7th Regiment Bombay N. I.; detachments of the 10th, 21st, and 23rd Regiments Bombay N. I.; the 3rd Regiment Madras N. I.; detachments of the 8th and 16th Regiments Madras N. I.; detachments of Madras L. C.; a detachment of Poona Auxiliary Horse; and one company of Sappers and Miners, and a very

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26. *Ibid.*, p. 27.

27. Courtney and Auld, *Memoir of Savant Wadie*, p. 27.

considerable above the Ghats, in the Belgaum and Kolhapur State, which under the immediate command of Major General Delamotte. These troops were moved back to their cantonments and the Sawunt Waree Local Corps was now retained for the preservation of peace, and for the general security of life and property in the whole State.[28]

Widely spread "disaffection and rebellion" caused by British

The Governor General in Council thought "the uniform disaffection and faithlessness to its engagements which marks the history of the State added to setting aside the Chief on account of his incapacity and misconduct, and the Heir apparent having joined the rebellion, would warrant the British Government in declaring this State confiscated and its territories annexed to the British possession." But they considered that the late disturbances were committed when the State was under British management. They also thought that the widely spread "disaffection and rebellion" were caused by the dislike of British rule. They, therefore, should not punish the nominal Raja or descendants for acts for which they were not responsible.[29] The Court of Directors also agreed that as the Raja was already excluded from the administration and he had no part in the "insurrection", they participated in the decision of the Government of India to make any change in his position. They said that the administration should be carried on during his lifetime in the same manner as before. He and his family should be supported by a fixed allowance.[30] This decision was fair in respect of the dispute between the Raja and the British Government. But the question regarding the destruction of the old political and economic order was not even raised in the British discussion, leave aside being considered.

Manohargad dismantled by Major Jacob

The disappearance of Phond Sawant's forces without leaving a soul when the British army of invasion occupied the fort of Manohargad was one of the mysteries, which faced the Government. The fort was 823 metres above the sea level and there was a steep climb to the top. There was no access or exit from the fort except the one through which the invading army had approached it. All around the top was the neck

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28. *Ibid.*

29. *SSR/R 3/F. Judl. II - Pol.*, Letter No. 2079 of July 25, 1846 from the Secretary, Court of Directors, East India Company, to the Government of India.

30. *Ibid.*, Extract from p. 12 of despatch from the Court of Directors, No. 5, February 24, 1847.

breaking steep descent of hundreds of metres of fall beneath. Yet not even a single soul was to be found in the fort in the morning when the conquerors arrived.

The solution to this mystery was found out through the zeal and influence of Vithal Ghanashyam Gothaskar. He was successful in finding out the secret ascent by which the *Gadkaries* succeeded in retaking Manohargad from the Kolhapur troops on two occasions. Captain G. LeGrand Jacob, who went up to the fort, says, "Until pointed out it is imperceptible to even a close view, the spot is in the Northern face close to the NE angle of the Fort over looking Seevapoor. I have of course had the place guarded ... the garrison of the Fort will have to be increased during the monsoon to provide for this Chorwat as well also for the casualities of that very trying and sickly season."[31] He observed further that the actual ascent when the fort was retaken from the Kolhapur troops had been made at that spot, and that too, by night.[32]

Captain Jacob examined the "chorwat" of Manohargad by climbing and by suspension from the above by ropes. He says, "This ascent consists of narrow ledges running along a portion of the North-west face of the fort, imperceptible save on close inspection - the scarp is here 127 feet (about 39 metres) from its base ... a narrow foot-path affording room for a single man at a time where a false step would risk a fall of many hundred feet into one of the deep and broad ravines that descend into the confused cluster of hills forming the substratum of the mountainous mass whence the Forts of Munohur and Munsuntoosh arise: the rock is here much worn by the action of the weather ... by taking advantage of the irregularities of which, nimble men can proceed zigzag from one ledge to the other and thus reach the highest within a short distance of the top - this ledge during a course of 100 yards, rises towards the Northern angle, the scarp above it varying in height from 30 feet at one end to 14 feet at the extreme corner, but the ledge is very narrow, and where the scarp affords no holding place dangerous to attempt, if traversed however a slight recession of the scarp at the acute angle/ overlooking Seevapoor/ would enable a good climber to gain the summit at that point ... at last two men offered to try, and they succeeded in reaching the top ledge at a spot 25 feet from the summit,

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31. *SSR/R 43/MSC/H.A./723 F. No. 3R, Vol. I, Repairs to Manohar Fort, 1846 - 1850*, Letter from Political Superintendent, Sawantwadi to Arthur Malet, Secretary to Government, Bombay, No. 66, May 26, 1846.

32. *Ibid.*, Letter No. 26 of February 25, 1847.

whence they were drawn up by ropes, it occurred to me however that they might have reached the corner, whence no such aid would have been wanted ... The Gudkurrees of these Forts are a hardy active race and should by no means be despised as an enemy, they are in the habit of climbing the tallest Palm tree with the help only of the knots of a bamboo tied to it ..."[33] He dismantled the "chorwat" and the fort at an expenditure of Rs. 1985 by October 8, 1849.

Manohargad and Phond Sawant stand in supreme isolation

Manohargad and Manasantoshgad stand in conspicuous solitude in the middle of Sawantwadi to be seen from most of the places there. One can see them from Sawantwadi town if one climbs the Narendra hill. One can see them on a hill against the background of the Sahyadri mountain range. And the twin forts divided by a chasm about fifty metres long can be seen standing in defiant justice from Mahadeogad or Cawle Sad as one stands over a deep three sided valley. It is associated by people with the name of Desai Phond Sawant who led, what they were led to believe, a *rebellion* against established authority. He was believed to be a *rebel* against the British and Sawantwadi rule because of his solicitude for a social order of the past. This is how the victors convert the outcome of a war, which is lost by the defeated people, by their skills over twisting the facts and skillful misrepresentation of events. But now on it will be believed that Desai Phond Sawant, the more than four score years old but still erect and hefty, was the leader of the people and Sardars of Sawantwadi for more than fifteen years. He wanted to continue their old system of society, politics and economy, which would surely have earned for them a bright future.

Manohargad stands on a mountainous hill so high above the sea level. It awaits a respectful salute to Phond Sawant, Anna Saheb, the Sardars and the people of Sawantwadi who fought the last war in defence of an old order from which alone could be developed a new order.

There are descriptions of the interior of the three-sided fort, which, in addition to Captain LeGrand Jacob, was visited by Raja Khem Sawant V in the twentieth century. It is twenty-two kilometres from the town of Sawantwadi and is on a solid mass of rock joined to the rest of the mountain by a narrow ridge about three kilometres long. It is said that it

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33. *Ibid.*

has been fortified since the time of the Pandavas[34] and is almost impregnable. Captain Jacob has left a map of the interior of the fort, which is triangular in shape, 396 metres long by 315 broad. There was a sweet water lake in the interior, which was destroyed along with the other buildings by Captain Jacob. It has a single entrance approached by a flight of rock-cut steps and guarded by two gateways. The British allowed the garrison of the fort to keep their lands on certain conditions, but they were declared to have forfeited all money claims. Manasantoshgad is a small angular fort about thirteen and a half meters in area and is an offshoot of the celebrated Manohargad. It is about the same height but it is now impossible to go across the chasm as the old path, which must have had steps near the top, has completely disappeared.[35]

British realize their imperial objective in Sawantwadi

The British were planning their policy objectives in Sawantwadi State even at the time when their merchants were having difficulties in gaining access to the Deccan through the ports on the Western coast of India. The East India Company was well acquainted with the territory for about one hundred and fifty years. They had been having a prosperous trade with that region from Rajapur and Pedne from where they had an access to the Indian trade with the land across the Sahyadri through the various passes. The difficulties, which they experienced in their business, were being sorted out with business negotiations and with the powerful navy, which they possessed. There were times when they had conflicts with the maritime powers on the Western coast. They had at such times to depend upon their diplomatic dealings to have naval treaties with some of the powers like the Kempsant, the first naval treaty that they signed in 1730 with Fond Sawant II, the successor of Khem Sawant II.[36]

The mercantile activity with several other countries in addition to the Western coast of India had brought about a tremendous prosperity to the Western powers. The prosperity began to increase their ambitions further and precipitated conflicts, which resulted in naval wars in which the British were successful. They had indeed lost their American colonies on July 4, 1776 but they were successful in their war with France in the battles of

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34. Clune's *Itinerary*, p. 78.
35. *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Vol. X, Ratnagiri and Sawantwadi*, (Hereafter *GBP Sawantwadi*), Mumbai, 1880, pp. 466-467.
36. Please see Chapter 2 above, p. 16.

Trafalgar in 1805 and Waterloo in 1815. The English had established their naval victory over the world and with this they could hope to get the colonies they seemed on the verge of achieving.

The economy of England had taken a turn in the latter half of the eighteenth century. The people of England had started making goods for export and had started using machines and coal power to manufacture mainly cotton goods for export. Huge cities had sprung up with hundreds of five- and six-storied factories belching out black charcoal smoke through the chimneys. The cotton was all to be imported from India and some other countries to feed the busy spinning and weaving machines. The untiring merchants had captured the monopolistic textile markets of India in western Asia till the Indian ships were lying idle. And with this loss of market, the cotton textile industry was facing ruination and their weaving looms were lying idle. It was the right time for the merchants to try and get free access to the ports of India and the roads and passes across the mountains to the prospective land of the Deccan. The merchants were making their trips to the Deccan and bringing tremendous pressure on the Honorable Company to try its hard to get suitable concessions in their transactions. The British Government and the East India Company were putting in their best efforts to get territorial and tariff concessions to import and export of goods of the home industry. The objectives of this policy can be traced from 1765.

The political climate in India had shown in the latter half of the eighteenth century the opportunities that invited the well-organized power to make an attempt at domination. The check received by the Mahratta Confederacy in their defeat of the third Battle of Panipat was an indication that their power could not be revived to its former glory. The East India Company had won the battle of Plassey in 1757 and recruited an army of Indian soldiers who would fight effectively under English officers. They had been posted in Mumbai, Kolkata and Chennai. Madhavrao Peshwa revived the Mahratta Confederacy and in 1771 Mahadaji Shinde took the Mughal Emperor to the Red Fort under his protection. But Madhavrao Peshwa died in 1772. And ultimately General Wellesly defeated the Mahrattas in the battles of Assaye and Laswari in 1803. All the Maharajas, Nawabs and the Nizam were the subsidiary allies of the British before 1805. The British were in complete command over India, except the northwest, by 1818 when the Peshwa was abolished.

There was a dispute over the Kolhapur and Sawantwadi naval attacks on English ships carrying cargoes. They were protested against as piratical attacks by ships belonging to the two Indian States. The British squadron under Major Gordon and Captain Watson occupied Sindhudurg and Yeshwantgad, which were restored to Kolhapur and Sawantwadi when it was agreed that the British ships would not be molested in future. Khem Sawant III also agreed to cede the land between the Karli and Salshi rivers, to pay Rs. 100,000 as war expenses, to allow the English merchants to pass freely through his territory and to keep no navy. Since the English ships were moving industrial goods to and from their territory, the naval attacks could not be stopped. The British sent Mostyn who signed agreement with Sawantwadi to pay a compensation of Rs.200, 000 to the British and to keep Vengurla in the meanwhile with them. But Vengurla was once again attacked and retaken by Sawantwadi in 1780.

The next treaty was in 1812 by which it was agreed that the port of Vengurla was to be ceded in full sovereignty to the British, that Sawantwadi would deliver up all vessels equipped in a warlike manner, the British were allowed to post a guard of troops in the port of Nivti and were not to allow any ship to leave the port without being searched. It was also agreed by Sawantwadi State to hand over the forts of Redi and Nivti to the British if there were any further plundering of their ships.

Then Sawantwadi with the East India Company signed the Treaty of Subsidiary Alliance in 1919. It was agreed to cede to the British in perpetuity the forts of Redi and Nivti together with the whole seacoast of the State. They agreed not to employ again Sardar Sambhaji Sawant and Sardar Babnu Gopal and deliver up in future all persons who might be found guilty of attacking English commerce.

So the British were primarily engaged in all these treaties and agreements in protecting the import and export trade with Sawantwadi. In the half century before 1819, their main concern was saving the harassed commerce from the ruination of their ships and the plundering of their goods by the navy under the command of powerful Sardars who were in the service of the State. The British ships had been forcing the industrial goods of their machines in the territory and its hinterland. They had also been exporting the raw material from the country thus causing a shortfall of these. The shortage affected the manufactured goods, which the Indian merchants used to export. The remedy, as thought out by the Sawantwadi nobility, was the attacks on British cargo ships that imported and exported

the goods. The British had no alternative but to deal with those 'piratical' attacks. And when they knew that Sawantwadi ships with the connivance of the Sawantwadi navy made the attacks, they had the objective of destroying it. This they could bring about by taking over the ports, forts and the entire coast of the State. The State was entirely helpless against the world power of the British navy and the army. The British wanted to force the entire country to accept their goods even to the destruction of their economy. This they were compelled to accept because the British were winning the battles but thought they would be able to retain their old order. But they were surprised to find that the old order had decidedly to be changed by the demands of the new English trade.

It was a shocking move on the part of the whole British administration including their home government and the Governor General in Council that they with all the knowledge at their command could think of such a measure as to deprive a maritime state not only of its ports but also the entire sea coast. This castration of a State was not allowed by the international law of that time nor has it been allowed to this date. The destruction of the navy and taking up the coastland only less than three or four kilometres wide was like suffocating the State, which it actually did for a century and a quarter. Many other solutions were possible to solve the problem but the enlightened statesmen of the times or even of those one hundred and twenty-five years did not try them later. The statesmen took the easiest way, which was voiced by the merchants of the time.

The demand of the merchants and the duty of the Navy were indeed fulfilled by the free trade on the sea, which the suppression of the so-called piracy made possible. There was however a great advantage which was derived by the Government in having under their control the levying of customs duty on goods that were exported and imported from Vengurla. The duties were levied according to the policy of the Bombay Provincial Government on the great variety of goods, which passed the port inside and outside. It is only necessary to recall that the goods, which passed the Vengurla port, came and went directly by Ramghat, Parpolighat and several other ghats up to the vast area of the Deccan. This income was the blessing of the treaties on British Provincial Government. One must also remember that the loss of this income was the most important reduction in the income of Sawantwadi, an income that would increase tremendously by the increase in trade between England and the Deccan.

There was also the income from saltpans in the land by the sea. They consisted of saltpans around Vengurla and Shiroda. Most of them were the personal property of the members of the Royal family. When the British took them over, they were farmed out to private persons and the British Government taxed the salt from them. It was in reality the income of the Sawantwadi State.

There was much further income over which the British had no control because it still continued as internal matter of the Sawantwadi State. It was levied as taxes collected at various Nakas on the borders of Tarafs and on the entrance and exit of various ghats. The Government of the Bombay Presidency was able to get control of the land customs after an agreement with Khem Sawant IV paying him annually the average amount of revenue collected by the State for five years up to 1835. The British exchanged thus the land customs on the interior of the State for a paltry amount and they thus became the sole controller of what they called the military road of Ramghat. Thus the State of Sawantwadi had no control over the internal customs duty except the small amount they received for the one hundred and fifteen years of its existence. This was another trick of the East India Company at the beginning and Imperial British Government in most of the period. They did not bother about the chief trick, which had gathered for them revenue over which they had absolutely no legal right. They consoled themselves with paying a compensation of some eight thousand rupees, which was fixed by them without any change for the new circumstances, which may follow in the next one hundred and fifteen years.

It is true that the real cause of the War of Independence, which was indeed called by the British rulers and historians as a revolt of Desai Phond Sawant, waged to the end by the people of Sawantwadi was the avidity of the British industrial and commercial classes to establish their freedom to trade to and from the rich western region of India. With the suppression of the army of Sawantwadi, the British were now free to trade with Belgaum, Vijapur and Dharwad and the vast territory they controlled beyond the three districts. They could transport the cotton bales on the backs of bullocks through the Ramghat and transport them through Vengurla and bring the industrial goods of England by the same route. This was made possible by the Agreements, which had been signed by the East India Company with the Sawantwadi State. It was true that the people knew the cause of the War to its correct dimension. The British

also knew the cause but were able to have the military power to defeat the people and pretend that the wrong policies implemented by them were in fact right. The rights of the people were not to be mentioned and their cause was wrongly presented as rebellion of the wrong-headed nobility to reinstate their power.

Handing over frontier with Goa to British

In the translation of a letter written by R. Spooner, the first British Political Superintendent in Sawantwadi, to Raja Khem Sawant IV, he stated that a new law concerning the levy of duty on salt was enacted by the British Government in 1837. From that time the salt manufactured in the Angre and other foreign territory was being shipped to Goa and then it as well as the salt manufactured in the Goan territories was imported into Sawantwadi. But instead of passing along the main road that extended from Vengurla to Belgaum, it was passed through Sawantwadi territory by the other ghats with the view of causing loss to the British Government. Then it was passed to the East India Company's territory. The Bombay Government was likely to sustain heavy loss by this evasion of taxes. Spooner therefore requested the Raja to receive from the Government of Bombay annually in cash the average amount of annual collection which had up to that time been realized by the Raja from the Customs Nakas situated in the whole of his frontier with Goa. The Raja would make over to the British Government the whole frontier between the State of Sawantwadi and the territory of Goa. The British Government would be levying customs on the frontier according to their rules and would make whatever other arrangements, which they considered necessary. Then once they got possession of the whole frontier between Sawantwadi State and Goa, the British Government would be able to make arrangements for the abolitions of all customs that were then being levied by them on the other road between Vengurla and Belgaum as well as on the boundary between Ratnagiri District and Sawantwadi State.[37]

This was indeed a strange proposal for the reason of the Bombay Government suffering a loss of customs duty they could not collect because of the smuggling activity of some people across the border between Sawantwadi territory and the territory of the British and

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37. *SSR/R 4/ADM-H.A./C1 Vol. I, Politics and Administrative, Customs ceded to British Government, 1835-36*, Translate of letter from R. Spooner to the Chieftain of Sawunt Warree, June 30, 1838, paras 2 and 3.

Portuguese. Spooner was asking from Raja Khem Sawant IV the transfer of Sawantwadi frontier with Goa to the British. He was offering to pay to Sawantwadi annually the average amount collected by them till that year. And he was asking a concession from Sawantwadi to allow the British to levy the customs duty as per their rules.[38] The proposal was so abominable that the Raja of Sawantwadi could dismiss it out of hand. The Raja and his advisers who did not have the future of the State in mind were supposed to be devoid of the rights of the State they carried the responsibility for.

Spooner had proposed also that the transit duties that were levied by the State throughout their territory should be abolished as was done by the British Government in their territories earlier. He also advised them that with the abolition of transit duties, the prosperity of his ryots would be increased and the measure also would be able to improve their several revenues. He therefore requested the Raja to make the concessions to the British so that the objections regarding the levy of customs on the Ramghat road would also be set at rest.[39] Spooner had set forth the proposals to the Raja almost in similar words of the letter he had received from L.R. Reid about a week earlier.[40]

The reply was written to that communication by Raja Khem Sawant IV saying that he was willing to abandon the levy of customs at the nakas of Parpoli and others together with the fee on stamping cloth provided the British Government annually paid the amount realized by him together with the sum paid to *Huckdars*, this sum being the average amount of collections for three years, namely, 1834-35, 1835-36 and 1836-37.[41] Oil, sugar, reams of paper and other articles were imported from Goa for the use of the State establishment. The amount of customs should not exceed Rs. 500 per annum and this amount should be remitted to his Government.[42] The only reason for that irresponsible and traitorous behavior freely shown by Raja Khem Sawant IV was, 'from olden time great friendship has existed and still exists between the British Government and my Soowasthan, ... the British Government exert themselves

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38. *Ibid.*, para 3.
39. *Ibid.*, paras 5 and 8.
40. *Ibid.*, Letter No. 2320 dated June 22, 1838.
41. *Ibid.*, Translate certified by R. Spooner of a letter from the Chieftain to R. Spooner dated July 10, 1838.
42. *Ibid.*, para 5.

with the view of increasing my prosperity and give me assistance, and I have therefore the greatest pleasure in acceding to your request.'[43]

Spooner reacted electrically to this State letter and wrote within two days that the Chieftain's answer will be highly gratifying to the Government. He said, 'He has made over to us the whole of his frontier with Goa, with the full right of not only levying duties, but of altering them and in fact of making whatever arrangements Government may think proper.[44] Once the British chowkies were established on the frontier between Goa and Sawantwadi, they would be able to remove all the frontier nakas, which were recently been established on the boundaries of three States of Satara, Kolhapur and Sawantwadi.[45] Khem Sawant IV had stipulated that the British Government should pay him the amount he had been realizing under the head of customs and that the land customs throughout the Sawantwadi territory were to be abolished. But the Raja would be receiving in cash only one-fourth of what he had been in the habit of receiving under the head of customs. He therefore would not be a gainer by the arrangement. As regards the abolition of Land Customs throughout the territory of Sawantwadi, the very act of the British establishing chowkis on the Sawantwadi frontier with Goa would affect all goods which entered the Sawantwadi territory either from its frontiers with Goa or from any of the British ports in as much as they would in the first instance pay customs to the British Government. And having paid all the dues demanded by the British, the goods would then proceed through the British line of road extending between Vengurla and the Ramghat, and thus avoid any nakas in the Raja's possession.[46]

Spooner gathered from a rough estimate that the customs throughout the whole of Sawantwadi territory did not exceed Rupees twenty thousand annually. In that amount was included the sum of Rupees eight thousand one hundred and seventeen, annas six and pies seven which the British Government paid to the Raja in lieu of the customs on the road between Vengurla and the Ramghat. The British Government would therefore have to pay a further sum of Rupees twelve thousand or thereabouts per annum.[47]

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43. *Ibid.*, para 2.
44. *Ibid.*, Letter No. 13 dated July 12, 1838 to Elphinstone, Assistant Collector, Ratnagiri from Richard Spooner, Assistant Collector, Ratnagiri from Sawantwadi, para 3.
45. *Ibid.*, para 4.
46. *Ibid.*, para 5.
47. *Ibid.*, para 11.

The actual amount of profit, which the British Government would annually receive, would be enormous and by far exceed the amount that could be saved by the removal of chowkis on the borders of the three States. The salt revenue of the British Government would be protected in the extensive country and his subjects would have to pay to the British Government the established duty of eight annas on every maund of salt consumed by them. They likewise would have to pay the British Government the usual custom on all other goods imported into this territory from Goa.[48] It was accepted by the British Government that the Chief of Sawantwadi was willing to concede to them the sole right of managing and levying customs on the Frontier between the Portuguese and Sawantwadi State.[49]

The ceding of the Port of Vengurla and the sea coast from the Karli river to the Portuguese border, the sea customs of the State of Sawantwadi, the Land Customs in its territory, the control of the road from Vengurla through the Ramghat to the Deccan, the abolition of stamping of piece goods in the State, the taking over of the extensive border of the State with the Portuguese territory of Goa, the freedom which was taken from the Raja of erecting customs Nakas on the border and collecting the dues according to its own rules and collecting salt tax on the salt which was imported from Goa and the British salt pans was all attained before 1838. The port of Vengurla and the seacoast, which were taken by the British Government, were the rights, which belonged to the people of an independent State. Although the State had become a Subsidiary Ally of the British, it could not be deprived of the Sea Front, which was responsible for income, which could have been several times the income, which was earned by the State in those days of economic depression. Vengurla was the most important port through which the manufactured goods of England were imported and the goods including bales of cotton were exported in ever increasing quantities. The saltpans along the seacoast also gave them salt revenues. The winning side was not allowed to take such income from the defeated side according to international law even at that time.

Even the taking over of the Vengurla to Ramghat road and the internal right of Land Customs for a paltry annual sum of a few thousand

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48. *Ibid.*, para 12.

49. *Ibid.*, Letter No. 3192 dated August 25, 1838 from L.R. Reid, Acting Chief Secretary to A. Elphinstone, Acting Collector, Ratnagiri.

rupees without taking into account the vast income which could be accrued in more peaceful and prosperous times ahead was an act of diplomatic jugglery. So was the taking over of the international border between Sawantwadi and Portuguese Goa and erecting Nakas to collect sea customs. And over and above these was the salt revenue to be collected by the British on the Goa border. The people of Sawantwadi resented these concessions during the war of independence, which they had lost. But the British power had won the victory of their objectives in the war that had continued from 1765 to 1845.

Previous to 1879, the notifications issued by the British Government treated Sawantwadi State in the matter of levy of customs duties precisely as if it were a part of British India and as if the British Indian laws relating to customs were in force in the State and the officers of the British Customs Department acted in that State accordingly. In about 1890, the Remembrance of Legal Affairs held in 1892 that the method adopted previous to 1879 of enforcing the right of levying customs was not legal and suggested what customs laws should be made applicable to the State. Accordingly the Government of India issued a Notification No. 2070-1 dated June 21, 1894 under which the following orders were passed. Duties of Customs on goods imported at the port of Banda and crossing the Sawantwadi-Goa frontier into the Sawantwadi State should be levied at the rates prescribed in the Indian Tariff Act (VIII of 1894). The provisions of the Sea Customs Act (VIII of 1878) and Land Customs Act (XXIX of 1857) so far as may be suitable should be applied to the said port of Banda and the said Sawantwadi-Goa Frontier. By subsequent Notification No. 2071-1 dated June 21, 1894 issued under Section 19 of the Sea Customs Act, the Government of India prohibited the bringing into the State at the said port or across the said frontier country liquor produced and manufactured in Goa.

The Bombay Government also issued under Section 6 of the Land Customs Act Notification No. 7644 dated September 26, 1892 and 5136 dated July 8, 1895 and 6157 dated August 15, 1900 prescribing routes by which goods would be allowed to pass into or out of Goa.

The Sea Customs Act (VIII of 1878) was supplied to the State since February 1918. But the Tariff, Land Customs Act and the Foreign Jurisdiction Act were not introduced into the State. It appears that the Land Customs Act was not applicable to the Sawantwadi-Goa Frontier and the Sea Customs Act was only partially applied.

The new act extended only to the whole of British india, which did not include Native States. It was therefore necessary to introduce it in the Sawantwadi State to legalize the recovery of the general customs duty on the Goa frontier adjoining the State.

Land customs area was defined in Section 2(g) as meaning any area adjoining a foreign frontier for which a Collector of Land Customs had been appointed under Section 3. As such area near the Goa frontier was within the Sawantwadi State, the Government of India could not appoint a Collector for that area under Section 3 and hence the State was requested to appoint such officer for that area.

The Indian State Enquiry Committee (Financial), 1932, the Davidson Committee, as it was known, described the position after the cession of the seacoast in 1820 and the loss of the well-known port of Vengurla. This State has a considerable land frontier with Portuguese Goa. It is a maritime State though it has no sea frontage. It has access to the sea by the creek of Terekhol. By an Agreement concluded in 1838, the Ruler renounced all claim to the sea and land customs, which he had levied up to that time. He made over to the Government of East India Company the right of establishing customs posts on his frontier as well as the port of Banda on the creek of Terekhol. The State's rights are defined by the compensation payment of Rs. 13,433 less Rs. 1,700 allotted for abolition. The Government of Sawantwadi made a representation of this case under Khem Sawant V but did not raise the question of the confiscation of the port of Vengurla and the seacoast because they did not want to embarrass the Government of India by suggesting a reversal of this arrangement. They pointed out that the step of handing over the Frontier of the State with Goa and the power of raising the Sea and Land Customs and the salt tax to the British had imposed and were imposing a heavy burden on the subjects of the State. The Diwan of the State therefore requested the Agent to the Governor General for the Deccan States that the arrangement between the Government of India and the State should be suitably revised by making the population of Sawantwadi State to be supplied with foreign goods. He suggested that the Government of India might direct foreign shipments to ask their steamers to discharge into country craft and the goods being landed at the port of Aronda. Aronda should be allowed to bring by country craft the goods from Goa. And goods should be allowed to be brought from Goa by road and assessed at suitable points to the British Indian tariff by the Durbar.

That the arrangement of 1838 was unfavourable to Sawantwadi State should be evident from the fact that no other maritime State in India could be persuaded, at that time or later, to cede its rights on the same or similar terms. As the prolonged negotiations between the British Government and maritime States over decades had shown, every Indian State had regarded, and regards, its port as a natural resource and the development of which is a trust for its people. The perpetual alienation of its customs right was a transaction, which could not be supported in the absence of a compensating advantage to the State. As a matter of fact, the agreement of 1838 only stereotyped the revenue secured by the State in three years preceding without allowing for its natural growth.

The circumstances under which the agreement was negotiated and entered into lent support to this contention. There was chronic disorder and the finances were disorganized. The State was being "vexed by the depredation of lawless rebels" and "the finances of the State and also other methods being in great disorder" he gave over the "entire management" of the State to the Political Agent. In the predicament in which he was, the Chief was not in a position to bring to bear on this important matter, which related to one of the most valuable rights of the State, the prudence and foresight that it demanded.

The agreement of 1838 was of a purely commercial nature. Such commercial agreements were not irrevocable for all time and in all circumstances however changed. Since 1838, the relevant conditions had been transformed beyond all recognition. Among these might be singled out the high tariffs and intensification of protection in British India. It was therefore demanded that the 1838 agreement should be revised in the light of those altered circumstances. A reply had however been received that they were unable to agree that any sufficient ground existed for revision of the terms of an agreement which had been in force and binding on both parties for almost one hundred years. The well-reasoned request to the British had thus been rejected and the victory in the war was considered by them to have perpetuated their gains at the expense of the State population. The callous statesmen were relaxed to have Imperialism prosper over the defeated people who were deprived of their valuable resources like the sea coast including the port, control over the entire international frontier between Sawantwadi State and Portuguese Goa, the right to levy sea and land customs and the right to levy salt tax.

Only the levy of taxes and customs dues, which the British collected, will show the poor comparison with the few thousand rupees, which were annually paid to the State. It will be necessary to look into the ships delivering or taking away goods from Vengurla at a time when the Suez Canal had not been built and the steamers had not driven the sailing ships into retirement. The Vengurla port was as good as most of the ports to trade directly to and from England. It could handle all the imported and exported goods with England and the Deccan before 1870s when the Madras and Southern Maratha Railway had been laid and the goods traffic was moved in the land above the ghats. We have to assess the Sea and Land customs that were collected at Vengurla and Dodamarg for more than a century. And we should also take into account the salt taxes collected for so many years, which included the tax on salt, which the subject of Sawantwadi had to bear.

Unsuccessful People's War for their livelihood

Jacob had received a report from Lieutenant Colonel Aqitor, In Charge at Head Quarters, about the insurrection in Sawantwadi. He observed that the country had been affected to a great extent and tried to find the probable cause of so great a rising.[50] There "would appear a general belief that successful military operation to the Eastward of the Capital would have brought a corresponding advantage Enhanced only by its following more immediately on the outbreak of the Insurrection."[51] This comment seems to be true in connection with the advantage, which was obtained by General DelaMotte when he established the Head Quarters of the army at Nangertas, a few miles to the North of Amboli, at the top of the Hanumantghat. It was impossible for him to get access to Manohargad through Ramghat or Parpolighat, which were guarded by the Sawantwadi troops. The facility of lowering the guns and army to Dukanwad was done by him through Hanumantghat. He could observe the army under Lieutenant Colonel Carruthers at the foot of the mountain and Colonel Wallace firing the British guns from his position on a hilltop into Shivapur. The position of the Sawantwadi army was strong at Manohargad and the Sardars and people all over the State supported the surrounding area and it. Once the power of the army was made untenable by the bombardment

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50. *SSR/R 4/ADM-31 H.A./G-4 Vol. I*, Letter from Lt. Col. Aqitor, In Charge at Hd. Qrs., 10 Regt. Inf. to Jacob, No. 137 of April 15, 1845, p. 207.

51. *Ibid.*, p. 208.

by Colonel Wallace and the fort of Manohargad had to be evacuated, the back of the independence army was broken. The Usapkar Desai and Huwelkar Desai were able to hold their own to the last. The army of the British succeeded in the four-month's war because of the endurance they showed till they were able to conquer Manohargad and the army of Sardar Phond Sawant had begun to return back to their villages. But the army under Sardar Phond Sawant and his sons had to be pursued beyond the boundary to Goa in order to win the war. The rest of the people returned to their villages and every thing was quiet except for the British taking revenge.

The mass of inhabitants of the interior of the State had returned to their homes where they pursued their usual occupations under British military surveillance. This gave a semblance of peace where peace did not exist in reality.[52]

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52. *SSR/R 4/ADM-31 H.A./G-4 Vol. I*, Letter from Lieutenant Colonel Aqitor, In Charge at Head Quarters, to Jacob, No. 137 of April 15, 1845, p. 207.

Chapter 5

BRITISH ADMINISTRATION FROM 1838 TO 1924

De facto Raja and de jure British administration

KHEMRAJ IV HAD ASSUMED POWER IN 1822 with the intervention of the British Government. But he was not able to manage efficiently the terribly reduced revenues of the State. His difficulty was that the expenditure of the administration could hardly be met by the reduced income. The British were aware of this and thought that maintaining Moro Pant Lele as Karbhari of the State could solve the problem. Lele advised the reduction of the State monetary outgoings and Khemraj IV Bapusaheb found the measures to be unacceptable. The Agreement of IV ratified Lele's position. Articles signed by Bapusaheb and the British Government by the end of 1832. It bound the Raja not to remove Lele from his office of Karbhari without the consent of the British Government. Then in 1836, the customs leviable on the road from Vengurla through the Ramghat to Belgaum was transferred from Sawantwadi to the British Government. And the Agreement of VI. The British with the Raja concluded articles on September 15, 1838. By this Agreement, the whole of the customs of the Sawantwadi State became the property of the British and the levy of transit duties was abolished.[1]

The pay of Sardars and other employee of the States were not paid for a number of years and there were most flagrant injustice, tyranny and oppression. This gave rise to the formidable war of independence of the whole State. The British therefore concluded that the former administration could not succeed and decided to place the State under their control. Khemraj IV was continued as the *de facto* ruler with the Political Superintendent of the British as the *de jure* ruler of the State.[2]

The first Political Superintendent to be appointed to Sawantwadi State was Richard Spooner who had finished his training in Haileybury College in 1827-28.[3] He had come to Sawantwadi when Moro Pant Lele's financial administration had landed it into absolute bankruptcy. He had to

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1. W. Courtney and J.W. Auld, *Memoir on the Sawunt Waree State*, (Hereafter Courtney and Auld, *Memoir*), pp. 8-9.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 9.
3. F.C. Danvers and others, *Memorials of Old Haileybury College*, p. 554.

fix the scale of expenditure of Sawantwadi for the year 1839-40. The estimated revenue of the State was Rs. 2,23,420 and the estimated expenditure was Rs. 1,83,811. The allowances, including those of *devasthan, dharmadai*, Hindu festivals, *ashrits*, *mathe,* Brahmans and *bairagis*, beggars, Masjids and the Kazi came to about 10 per cent of the expenses. The *tankhas*, including Prasidhagad and Sindhudurg and to the East India Company as per Reid's settlement came to about seven and a half per cent. The *paga* or cavalry department including horses, elephants, horsemen, cows, pigeons and rabits came to about five per cent. The Raja's and royal family expenses, including their allowances, daily food, butlers, personal servants, male and female slaves and hamals etc., came to about fifteen per cent. The establishment, including the Sawantwadi Local Corps, came to about two and a half per cent. The allowances of Mehmans and Sardars came to about seven and a half per cent. The *Sanadkaries* employed by Sardars and Mehmans came to about two and a half per cent. Pensions came to about the same. The Public Works Department and Post Office came to about one per cent and Miscellaneous Expenses came to about three per cent. The total amount accounted for 56.5 per cent of the expenditure.[4] He does not account for 43.5 per cent of the expenditure. But he seems to have accounted for all the expenditure he would have to make for the administration of the State except the salaries and expenses of the British administrators and the amount the State had to pay to the East India Company for the expenses of the army, which had been deployed in the State.

The next year, he created a Fund called the Fine Fund from judicial fines credited to the regular revenues, which were to be debited for repairs of roads and construction of bridges.[5] The revenue of the State villages amounted to Rs. 1,55,647. The revenue from Sheri and Khasgi *thikans* or lands or from other sources was subject to variation.[6] Sheri revenue shown in the report for the year 1841-42 was Rs. 15,000 and that of Khasgi was Rs. 20,000. Keri Mahal Farms yielded revenue of Rs. 32,000

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4. *Sawantwadi State Records* (Hereafter *SSR*) */R 3/F Judl II Pol*, Letter from Richard Spooner to Government, No. 82 of August 27, 1839. This scale of expenditure was sanctioned by the Government, *File No. R 2, Vol. I, Poll. 1839-43*, Letter No. P.D. 1684 of September 27, 1839.
5. *Ibid.*, Financial Report of the Sawantwadi State for the year ending June 5, 1841. Letter from Political Superintendent, Sawantwadi to the Secretary, Political Department, Bombay, No. 52 of August 25, 1841.
6. *Ibid.*, Para 17.

and *Siwai Jama* Rs. 6,000. Gano Ram fixed the above revenue in 1712.[7] He had some difficulty in making payments because the revenue of about Rs. 60,000 was received in kind. In dearer seasons, a considerable portion was received in money; but when the prices were low, the revenue was brought in kind. It was difficult to pay at eight *kudos* a Rupee when in the market it was available at 10 or 12 *kudos* a Rupee.[8]

He introduced the system of making accounts by the village *Kulkarnies* that was followed in the British districts. It would improve the State's revenue management and stop the injustice and oppression caused to the ryots and the notorious peculations and fraud of the village officers. But the *Kulkarnies* began to complain that their remuneration was inadequate because of the considerable increase in work. But the Government neglected their request since an additional burden of expenditure could not be borne by it.[9]

The Sawantwadi State was divided into 15 *Turufs* roughly having 15 to 20 villages in each. These were Mangaon, Talavde, Satarde, Bordave, Karyat Narur, Manohar, Tape Banda, Ajgaon, Haveli, Kalsuli, Tape Maneri, Pat, Khedi War Ghat, Mouje Amboli and Mouje Chowkuli. *Turuf* Tape Maneri contained *Turuf* Usap containing 25 villages, which were farmed from times immemorial to the Usapkar Desai. It also contained *Turuf* Hewul, which held 12 villages farmed to Hewalekar Desai. There were two more, one of which had four villages entered as one and the other one had five villages entered as four. In all there were 204 villages.[10]

In 1833, a system of keeping accounts was introduced.[11] The system of issuing *rokhas*, owing to which no grain found its way to Government Treasury and had to be purchased when required by the Royal family and public departments, was stopped in 1838. Grain began filling the granary of the State.[12]There was no effective control over forest trees which were felled and removed at the pleasure of the ryots. Some

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7. *Ibid.*, Report regarding receipts and disbursements of Sawantwadi State for the year 1841-42 ending June 5, 1842 submitted by Political Superintendent with letter No. 73 of August 24, 1842.
8. *Ibid.*, Letter from Political Superintendent, Sawantwadi, to the
9. *Ibid.*, Paras 24-25.
10. *Ibid.*, Report re. receipts and disbursements of Sawantwadi State for year 1841-42 ending June 5, 1842 submitted by Political Superintendent with letter No. 73 of August 24, 1842.
11. *Ibid.*, Paras 52-53.
12. *Ibid.*, Paras 54-57.

sunudkaris were therefore appointed to detect and report such illicit felling[13] and the village police system improved.[14]

The year opened with a balance of Rs. 45,438 of which Rs. 16,924 was in cash. The last year's revenue outstanding came to Rs. 1,34,374 and the revenue to be realized in 1841-42 was Rs. 2,30,525. The actual amount of revenue realized during the year was Rs. 2,60,523. The expenditure during 1841-42 was Rs. 2,14,003.[15] The finances of the State were being managed neatly. But there was dejection among the population as their incomes were reduced to almost nothing because of the Government's refusal to pay the salaries of some and to pay inadequately the salaries of others.

The *Daftardar* was in charge of the revenue management of the State. There was a large amount of arrears of revenue and public accounts and the *Daftardar* had a large establishment to realize them.[16] The State was divided into three *Pethas* or sub-divisions. Each of these *Pethas* was placed under a separate officer to be entrusted with recovery and settlement of revenue and the police management of his district. The account and audit management was left in charge of the *Daftardar*. The pay of these officers was fixed at Rs. 25, 20 and 20.[17]

There was also an abolition of certain cesses and imposts from the administrative point of view. The first of the impost was called the *Karsai Bal*, which consisted of a number of items such as hay, bamboos, mats, rafters etc., required for the repair of several forts in the State. Those who realized it appropriated the greater portion of what was actually collected from the ryots. The amount was fixed at a regular cash payment.[18]

We have seen how the British system of introduction and enforcement of regular accounts in the revenue dealings of the *Kulkarnies* was implemented in Sawantwadi. The *Kulkarnies* could not even get any sharer in their work, as the *watan* they received was not adequate for this purpose. The *Kulkarnies* could not even find the means to enrich

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13. *Ibid.*, Paras 77-78.
14. *Ibid.*, Para 85.
15. *Ibid.*, Paras 1-4.
16. *Ibid., Poll. No. R 2, Vol. I for 1839-43*, From Political Superintendent, Sawantwadi, to the Secretary to Government, Political Department, Bombay.
17. *Ibid.*, These proposals were sanctioned by the Government of Bombay by letter No. P.D. 1176 of May 29, 1843.
18. *Ibid.*, Financial Report for 1842-43. Letter from Political Superintendent, No. 41 of September 2, 1843.

themselves. It was therefore thought necessary to allow the *Kulkarnies* a small percentage on their collection in addition to their pay accruing from their *watan.*[19]

There were robberies on the high road on parties proceeding with goods from the ghat for trade purposes. Customs house officers were suspected of clandestine participation in these robberies. The Collector of Continental Customs was informed of this highway banditry. It was, therefore, decided to establish two new *chowkis* of the Local Corps on the high road. The first Census of the population was taken in the State.[20]

The accounts of debt to the British Government from the State of Sawantwadi and its repayment were also taken up in 1843. Amounts on account of (1) Political Superintendent's pay, (2) arms, accoutrements and ammunition etc., for the Sawantwadi Local Corps and (3) military aid for encountering the military insurrection in State were debited to Sawantwadi State. The amount debited up to April 1843 was in the Company coin of Rs. 1,46,748. The amount that was repaid then was Rs.1, 19,197 leaving a balance of Rs. 27,551.[21]

There were evils in the granary system, which caused the peasants inconvenience and loss in money and labour. The measure used in the granary was larger than the one employed in common use. The peasants were at the mercy of the measurer who was in the habit of exacting imposts styled the "*map vartala*" and "*adh ami*". The grain had to be brought to the granary from a long distance. It caused the peasants loss of time and expense of carriage for which he was not to be compensated. To avoid these evils, it was decided to commute the grain into cash at a rate to be annually fixed on with reference to the market value of grain or the average price obtainable in auction. It was also decided to put *Sheri thikans* to auction.[22]

There were many *Huckdars* who enjoyed certain privileges. They collected the amount without reference to the authorities, and in many cases resorted to compulsory measures when payment was not readily made. Directions were issued that the *Huckdars* should not collect their dues without securing the permission of the authorities. They were also

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19. *Ibid.*
20. *Ibid.*
21. *Ibid.*, Paras 22-26.
22. *Ibid.*

asked not to employ *Bhattekaries* without the sanction of the *Kamavisdars.*[23]

The *Bhattekary* system provided the means of realizing pecuniary claims. Almost every claim of money of the State whether for payment of salary or for a debt was liquidated by what was termed a *Rokha* or draft on some village. The holders of such a *rokha* presented it to the *Gaonkar* or head of the village, which gave him what was called a *patti* or list of persons from whom he might collect it. Armed with this, he employed a *bhattekary* who went to every house with a *chitty* or order from him for payment of the sum, which had been assigned to each by the *Gaonkar for* the liquidation of his claim. These *bhattekaries* were entitled to a seer of rice a day and to one or two annas in money as the case might be.[24]

The people seldom made the payment unless it was enforced by the practice. The people were accustomed to the *bhattekary* system but they were opposed to it as oppression. It was ordered that the parties employing *bhattekaries* should be committed to take their trial for extortion. After punishing them in one or two instances, the evil greatly abated.[25]

The Report however takes credit for the fact that the above reforms were popular with the people. But the taking away of the old system of administration and the incomes the people received from it was reducing the population to absolute poverty. The British administration seems to be under the impression that the removal of some of the evils in the old administration had given them enough popularity in the State. But they could not expect the acceptance of a Government that was taking away the bread from the people's mouth. The essential system of Government had changed when it could not give the population the means of livelihood except the subsistence from agriculture. They were right in noticing that "the State had politically considered ceased to exist, owing to internal discord and weak government. Its administration retained only a shadow of power..."[26] But they were not willing to give up their livelihood that was interlinked with the fabric of the old system of government. And the British had destroyed that system. The State could not give them the percentages and the *hucks* on its income, and they could not get their *Sanads* for their

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23. *Ibid.*, Letter from Political Superintendent, Sawantwadi to the Secretary to Government, Bombay, No. 62 of September 21, 1844. Financial Report of the Sawantwadi State for the year 1843-44, Paras 19-20.
24. *Ibid.*, Para 21.
25. *Ibid.*
26. *Ibid.*, Paras 28-35.

bravery as soldiers. They could not get their income, as they were not paid their salaries as watchmen of the highways. These and other things had created a hatred of the British and they were eager to throw them into the sea and across the Sahyadri.

British triumph and people are condemned to poverty

The British had put down the war and had punished the leaders of the insurrection by cutting down their allowances to the subsistence level. They also reduced the allowances of the others gradually when death occurred of one person and the allowances of the next successor were fixed.

The British had inevitably suppressed the war and were managing the affairs of Sawantwadi in a more cautious manner. Captain Jacob was following the policy of implementing strict measures where the authority of the Government had to be asserted. He showed the softness of the Government in dealing mildly with the people who had participated in the war against it. But the *Nemnuks* and *Sanads* and *hucks* etc., could not be continued without any reduction forever. It was necessary for him to reduce them gradually with attention to be paid to the time and amount of reduction.

It is interesting to note what Pokhrojirao Dharrao Nimbalkar had to say about the allowances to himself and his brother. They were the grandsons of Khem Sawant III and Rani Lakshmibai, being the sons of their daughter who was given in marriage to Dharrao. They had a *wada* in Junabazar, which was bought by the Kalsulkar High School. Rani Lakshmibai used to visit the place. Pokhrojirao says that both the brothers used to get a *nemnuk* from the Sawantwadi State of Rs. 2,000 each annually. When in 1832-33 Giberne revised the collection and disbursement of the State, he fixed his *nemnuk* at Rs. 2,000 and his brother's at Rs. 1,800. In 1838-39, Spooner framed a fresh *jabta* of Sawantwadi State fixing his *nemnuk* at Rs. 500 and of his brother at Rs. 350. They had no complaints against the Nimbalkars.[27]

Let us see what happened to the office of the Sabnis, which was created simultaneously with the State. The ordinary meaning of the term "Sabnis" is Paymaster General and Computer of Accounts of Forces. But

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27. *Ibid.*, Translation from a Yad from Pokhrojee Rao Dhar Rao Nimbalkar to the Political Superintendent, Sawantwadi, of May 1, 1845. Extract para 8 from the Court of Directors of April 19, 1848.

in addition to this, the Sabnis family held for many generations from the foundation of the Gadi the office of *Karbhari*. The family was recognized as holders of senior *Darakdars* up to the end of the Gadi. Gopalrao Anant Sabnis, in 1800, received Rs. 1,578 annually. Antaji Gopal received Rs. 1,275. Gilbert reduced this in 1832-33 because of embarrassed condition of the finances to Rs. 500. When there was need for economy, it was reduced to Rs. 100. And after the war of 1844-45, Colonel Jacob reduced the amount to Rs. 71 and entered it as pension. There are many other cases showing a similar reduction and no *sanad* was paid to anyone.[28]

Courtney had informed the Government of the various attempts made by him to get the Raja to cooperate with him in conducting official work. The Raja had repeatedly asked the Political Superintendent to remove Moropant Lele from his post of Minister and insisted upon holding his Kutchery in his Palace. He wished the Political Superintendent to act as his *Karbhari*. He refused to attend to office work unless the Political Superintendent acted in accordance with his wishes. The Political Superintendent as fickle-minded had described the Raja and as misled as a puppet in the hands of mean minded persons.[29]

Jacob struck off the names of those who had joined the insurrection and thus had effected considerable savings. But Shett Sawant Bhonsle, whose services to Colonel Carruthers recommended the British and Courtney in letter No. 86 of March 17, 1845, was allowed to hold land in eight villages and *hucks* in several villages. His *nemnuk* as Sardar was Rs. 550, which gave him the total amount of income of Rs. 1075. His former *nemnuk* of Rs. 620 with command and appointment of 75 *Sanadkaries* was however lost, along with all others, when it was abolished in 1838-39. Mangaon was his residence and he had great influence in it because of his rank.[30]

Baburao Rane and his son Balwantrao had taken more prisoners of the insurgents than any other party. The son was so useful in connecting the British with the country when it was dreadful to hold intercourse with it. Baburao Rane had formerly enjoyed a *nemnuk* of Rs. 900 a year besides the command of a few horses. He fell into disfavour and his *nemnuk* was

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28. *Ibid.*, Letter from the Political Superintendent, Sawantwadi, to Secretary to Government, Political Department, Bombay, No. 202 of March 25, 1871 and from W. Wedderburn, Acting Secretary to Government, Political Department to the Political Superintendent of Sawantwadi.
29. *Ibid.*, File No. P-4, Vol. II for 1841-48.
30. *Ibid.*, Letter from Political Superintendent to Chief Secretary to Government of Bombay, No. 35 of March 9, 1846.

reduced to Rs. 300 a year. But now he had been given Rs. 1,200 a year. The Parmekar Desai was rewarded by transferring to him of the estates of his brother of the land sequestered from the leaders of the war against the British.[31]

Jacob had proposed a tax of 10 per cent on *Inams, Dewasthans, Dharmaday and and Mate* which came to Rs.21, 929.[32] He was of the opinion that the necessitous circumstances of the State required this reduction. Although it was inadvisable to interfere with such endowments, yet they were not at all in proportion with the income of the State. Jacob said, "... where the State is brought to the verge of dissolution, the Salus rei publica suprema lex would authorise resumption of a much more of a percentage tax." This proposal obtained the Governor in Council's sanction by letter from the Political Department, No. 4980 of December 31, 1846.[33]

He had exempted the *Inam* villages of Shirwat in possession of Lele and those in the possession of Abasaheb Patankar from the operation of this tax. He had not included the stipends of the Banda Subhedars, Mehmans and other stipendaries in receipt of village assignments. But where disloyalty to the British rule had been proved, they had been struck off. The tax was levied for three years. It was to be abolished after those if the country maintained its tranquility and no new insurrectionary plots were brought to light.[34]

Death of Moro Krishna Lele

It was about this time, on June 29, 1847 to be exact, that Moro Krishna Lele died. He had been absent from the Archery for some days but he rapidly sank under his disease. This Konkanastha Brahman had played an important role in the State affairs from the British point of view. He had advised measures in financial dealings, which deprived the Sardars of the amounts needed for their administration. They complained and the Raja made payments to defray their expenses. The British regarded these payments as extravagance, which was not in the interest of the new system, which had been created by taking away the customs

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31. *Ibid.*
32. *Ibid.*, From Political Superintendent, Sawantwadi, to Secretary, Political Department,. Bombay, No. 104 of August 30, 1847
33. *Ibid.*, From letter No. 35 of March 9, 1846.
34. *Ibid.*, Letter No. 50 of April 20, 1847, para 17.

and trade of Sawantwadi. The Raja had dismissed Lele from the position of Karbhari and he had got it back by an Agreement between the Sawantwadi State and the British Government. He had been occupying the position of Karbhari when Courtney and Jacob relied on his knowledge to redesign the system of administration and thus depriving the people of their living. Lele was indeed the pillar of the British administration although Political Superintendents took the measures according to their needs.

The Political Superintendent spoke of his so little general influence. He had been the Karbhari of the State for about twenty years without the support of the Raja and his Durbar. In fact, he had been occupying the most important post because of the British influence as they benefited by his skill and expertise in the management of State affairs. He had his enemies because he helped the British in bringing what he called their misdeeds to light. He was of great use to them in the management of the entangled system of revenue, which was in force in the State. His experience and opinions were valuable, and his sentiments as an assessor of the criminal court materially contributed to fulfill the ends for which the British established the mixed system of the State. The British used his knowledge of the political, revenue and legal affairs of the State to introduce their system of Government.[35]

Discontinuance of the title of Raja

The Raja of Sawantwadi complained in 1836 of having been deprived of the title of Raja when he was addressed as the Sardesai of Sawantwadi in the correspondence of the Government of Bombay. But the Government denied that it was ever intended to deprive the Sardesai of his title of Raja Bahadur to which, they said, he had an undoubted right. But, they said, there was "a great distinction between "Rajey" used as a title and "Rajah" as denoting an independent Prince. He undoubtedly stood to Government in the relation of "Sur Dessaee of Prant Koodal and its Mahals". The words Khem Sawant "Raje Buhadoor" were mere titles. They said further that it would be absurd if he were called the Raja of a country over which he was simply the Sardesai.[36]

G. LeGrand Jacob said that by the term "Raja" he intended to designate the Sardesai as he is so called in the treaties of 1812 and 1819

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35. Courtney and Auld, *Memoir*, pp. 31-32.

36. *SSR/R 13/F31/Preliminary Expression of Opinion of the Sawantwadi Durbar*, Letter from L.L. Willoughby to the Collector of Rutnagherry, No. 622 of April 13, 1836, Encl. No. 4.

as denoting the Sovereign of the country. The Sardesai Khem Sawant III publicly assumed the title of Raja Bahadur when a communication from Mahadaji Shinde in 1784-85 arrived which forwarded to him the Imperial Grant together with the emblems of royalty. Jacob annexed a translation of Mahadaji Shinde's original letter as also one from the Peshwa in 1792-93 confirming the grant, application for which as the Head of the Mahratta Empire had been made to him owing to the Kolhapur Durbar refusing to acknowledge the title. He also informed him that Mahadaji Shinde was Ranoji Shinde's son from a kept woman. But Lakshmibai, the Rani of Khem Sawant III, was the daughter of Jivaji Shinde, the eldest son in marriage of Ranoji Shinde.[37]

Article 6 of the Treaty of 1819 said, "The Raja and his heirs and successors shall remain absolute Rulers of the Country and the jurisdiction of the British Government shall not be introduced into that principality."[38] But the Government said that Willoughby's letter No. 622 of April 13, 1836 to the Collector of Ratnagiri contained their views of the matter.[39] And the Government Resolution said that the Sardesai was entitled to the designation of Raja Bahadur. But the title "Raja Bahadoor" did not give the Sardesai any claim to the position of a "Raja".[40] This position could not be squared with the view stated by the Peshwa as Head of the Mahratta Empire and his position as stated by the treaty of 1819. It was true that the Emperor Edward VIII in an interview with Khem Sawant V in Buckingham Palace in London in 1936 agreed that the title of Raja Bahadur was in fact the claim of Raja of a State, which did not pay any tribute to another State. But the Government of India had treated him as a Sardesai for a hundred years as the Bombay Government had taken a view that Raja Khem Sawant IV should be treated on a lower status when his powers were to be exercised by a British officer.

The Government of Bombay asked the Political Superintendent in 1855 how many salutes were to be given to the Chief.[41] In reply it was

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37. *Ibid.*, Letter from G. Le G. Jacob, Political Superintendent to Arthur Malet, Chief Secretary to Government of Bombay, No. 1420 of October 31, 1849, Encl. No. 5
38. *Ibid.*, from Diwan, Sawantwadi, to Political Agent, Belgaum, No. P-32 of September 10, 1932, Appendix No. 1.
39. *Ibid.*, Letter from A. Malet, Chief Secretary, Government of Bombay to Major G. Le Grand Jacob, No. 4997 of November 22, 1849, Encl. 6.
40. *Ibid.*, Letter from H.L. Anderson, Chief Secretary to Government to the Political Superintendent, Sawantwadi, No. 3068 of October 14, 1864, Encl. 7.
41. *Ibid.*, Circular from the Bombay Government to the Political Superintendent, Sawantwadi, No. 4001 of December 18, 1855.

stated that the Sardesai of Sawantwadi was entitled to nine guns salute. It was also stated that no salute had been fired for him except only once when the Sardesai was given nine-gun salute on the occasion of a review parade of the Sawantwadi Local Corps.[42] The Table of salutes was first prepared in 1857.

British control is complete and people condemned to poverty

It took nearly twenty-five years for the British to get complete control over the South Konkan territory. They had complete control over the ports of Sawantwadi, over the trunk road which connected the port of Vengurla with the markets through the mountains and over the vast land across the Peninsula, the control of the sea and land customs and over the salt tax with which the mercantile traffic of the homeland was concerned, and military and civil control over the land on which peace and order had to be maintained. They had to set at naught the old system of administration on which the vested interests had a strangle hold. They had to remove the Sardars and their soldiers to make way for the salaried officers who carried out their duties in accordance with the need of the day. The old system had gone and the new had stepped in. There was no need of the army and the navy of the State. There was no need of the military officers who led them in war. But there was need of the officers who brought in the revenues of the State. There was also the need to control the law and order over the area. Over these matters the Government maintained the old system with a little change in the old administration.

The large regular force, which had been placed in Sawantwadi at Amboli and below the Ghats, had been gradually abolished. The financial affairs of the State, which had shown absolute bankruptcy, had been brought under control by drastically reducing the *nemnuks* and doing away with the *Sanads* and taxing the *Dharmaday, Inam, Mate, Devasthan and Khairat* funds. The salaries of British officers and the debt of the British Government for suppressing the War of Independence had been paid regulariy.

The country was full of hills and jungles and there was plenty of water in the rainy season. The jungle was dense and the country was more difficult in the vicinity of the Ghats. The climate, considering the rankness of the vegetation, was much better than might be expected. The

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42. *Ibid.*, Letter from the Political Superintendent Major J.W. Auld, Sawantwadi to H.L. Anderson, Secretary to Government, Bombay, No. 565 of September 26, 1855.

principal diseases were low fever, dysentery and inflammatory complaints. But cholera and some of the more virulent and fatal epidemics of India were by no means common.[43] The principal road through the State was the great military road through the Ram Ghat. It was repaired and remade by the British from Vengurla up through the Ram Ghat to Belgaum. There was also the road from the Deccan by the Talkat Ghat to Banda and the Portuguese territory of Goa. There was also the Parpoli Ghat from Vengurla and Amboli to Belgaum, with a branch road through Baulat and Banda and further into Goa. These two roads through the Talkat Ghat and the Parpoli Ghat had been under construction by the British, as they would be leading from the Vengurla port through Sawantwadi to the area below and across the Sahyadri Mountains and to the Deccan plateau. Competent officers were appointed who selected the lines through the hills with great skill and attention. So gradual and easy would be the ascent that loaded carts would pass up or down with perfect facility. The Talkat ghat road would join the Vengurla road near Banda. And the Parpoli ghat road would join the Vengurla road about three miles from Sawantwadi. This road from the foot of the Parpoli ghat was an indifferent line, but when the Ghat was completed, it would improve and repair the whole road. There was also the Hanmant Ghat, which went by Narur, Wadus and Mangaon to Vengurla and Pat. There was the Ghotga Ghat, which passed the Sawantwadi State to the port of Malwan. There were a number of roads intersecting the State in all directions, but they were of the very worst description. But the Ram ghat and the Parpoli and Talkat ghats when completed would solve the problems of importing and exporting from and to the Deccan the goods of England through Vengurla.[44]

Rice was the staple produce of the State. Inferior grains, like Nachni, Hurik, Mung etc., were cultivated in the high lands and amongst the hills in considerable quantity. The soil was principally light sand, full of stones and gravel and so it could not yield cotton, tobacco, sugar cane or any other kind of superior produce. Coconuts and supari were exported but not any other products as they yielded quantities insufficient for local consumption. Grains of all kinds along with jaggery and sugar were imported annually in large quantities from across the Ghats.[45]

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43. Courtney and Auld, *Memoirs*, p. 11.
44. *Ibid.*, pp. 11-12, 32.
45. *Ibid.*

The principal manufactures of the Sawantwadi State were gold and silver embroidery work on saddlecloths and horse-appointments, and scabbards of swords. They also manufactured guns, swords, daggers, spearheads and shields; but with the State army being disbanded, the manufacture of these had dwindled to a halt. The manufacture of pankhas, painted toys, sealing wax and fire-works were in small quantities and were sufficient to meet the local demand.[46]

The imports were metals, piece goods from England, paper etc., from Mumbai; sugar, dates, spices of all kinds, salt fish, coconut oil etc., from the coast; rice, gram, dal, and other grains, onions, garlic, pepper, tobacco, snuff, ganja, opium, cotton, indigo, and all kinds of Indian cloth from the Deccan; and fruits, paper, poultry, candles etc., from Goa.[47]

But the merchants possessed no capital and could show no enterprise in trade. The largest part of the necessities of life was imported from England and foreign countries. The State could not export anything in return and constant drains of the precious metals went on, which could not but have had a bad effect on its financial prosperity.[48]

The inhabitants of the State were chiefly cultivators. They were a warlike race, accustomed to the use of arms from their childhood. The British Indian army was largely recruited from among the Mahrattas of Sawantwadi. They were "an extremely poor, ignorant, and superstitious race, easily led, and ready at any time to follow any leader who will give them a seer of rice a day." They were almost all provided with arms and it was not surprising that insurrectionary movements were easily started in the State. There were such remarkable facilities for irregular warfare with a dense, almost impenetrable jungle, and abounding in wild and inaccessible fastnesses.[49]

Administrative reforms after British interference

In 1845, the revenues of the State were realized in kind in a larger proportion than usual. They had later been collected by the State under Raja Khem Sawant IV.[50] The amount of grain lying in store at the godowns

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46. *Ibid.*
47. *Ibid.*
48. *Ibid.*
49. *Ibid.*
50. *SSR/R-4/ADM-31 H.A./G-1 Vol. I, Administrative General 1839-56*, From Political Superintendent, Sawantwadi, to E.H. Townsend, Secretary to Government, Bombay, No. 211 of September 15, 1845, p. 53.

could be sold at the rate of eight *kudos* a rupee. But the bazaar rate was much lower that is, 12 *kudos* a rupee, and a relative loss to the Government.[51] The servants of the State were formerly being paid by *rokhas* on villages. But in the first place it was realized that the Local Corps could not be paid in the same way.[52] But with the exception of the Local Corps and the medical establishment, taking into account the poverty of the treasury, it was decided to pay the whole of the establishment half in cash and half in grain. The pay of a poor horse keeper being Rupees Three, he was paid a fraction more than Rupee One and a half.[53] So much of the Revenue which had been collected by the administrators of Raja Phond Sawant IV, Captain Jacob said that he felt doubtful whether he should be able to get through the year without an appeal to Government for pecuniary aid.[54] He was instructed by the Chief Secretary that all the regular establishments, as the Political Superintendent's office, the Wadi Local Corps, the Mamlatdars and their *karkuns* and the Judicial Officers of the State should be paid their stipends in money and the grain rental should in all cases be disposed of either by commutation, if the people would consent to a fair valuation, or otherwise by public sale. The village Establishment and the district sepoys were allowed to be paid in grain.[55]

Revenue under Karbhari, Kamavisdars and Kulkarnies

Agriculture, as we have noticed, was the main occupation of the people. It supported about sixty-nine per cent of the whole population in 1871.[56] The revenue of the State came mainly from this source. In the absence of a revenue survey, the area of land under tillage was put down in 1878 at 355,000 acres.[57] Records of various surveys made of all the villages with their names and of the landowners with maps of the land holdings and information were contained in a file.[58]

The tenure and holdings of the agricultural and other land and the rights and liabilities held in them were a little complicated. It was difficult to

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51. *Ibid.*, p. 55.
52. *Ibid.*, p. 57.
53. *Ibid.*, p. 60.
54. *Ibid.*, p. 62.
55. *Ibid.*, From Chief Secretary, Bombay, to Political Superintendent, Sawantwadi, No. 5708 of December 27, 1845, p. 63.
56. *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Ratnagiri and Sawantwadi State,* (Hereafter *Bombay Gazetteer, Sawantwadi)*, p. 423.
57. *Ibid.*
58. *SSR/R 25/Karbhari Office 1895-96*, File No. 14, Outward No. 259 of November 17, 1895.

learn the meanings of terms like *wajakari* or *katuban* and make changes in them if any money was unduly collected by usage. All the documents, dealings and correspondence in them were in the *modi* script and it had to be learnt. The officers who were posted in places like Sawantwadi as the Political Superintendents were taught to speak and write Marathi or any other language, as also the mode script, in England at the Haileybury College where they were trained for the Indian Civil Service posts. They had passed the opted language examination and some of them had obtained distinction in them. A story was told about Colonel Schneider who was the Political Superintendent of Sawantwadi in the 1860s. He had the habit of dressing up like a Brahmin with the *pagdi, angarkha, upama, dhoti* and the *joda* and going out for a walk. While on a walk in this fashion one morning, he met a man and said, *"Han dahyancha budkulan kuna sathin ?"* (For whom are you carrying this pot of curds ?). And having been told the name of the officer for whom it was being carried, Colonel Schneider caught the officer during the day and fined him. When dressed up this way, he looked like a Brahman as some of whom are fair like a European with blue eyes. The people used to call him Vishnu Adel Saheb.[59] A copy of Colonel Schneider's order of 1860, recorded in Marathi, was sent along with the papers to the Commissioner, S.D.[60]

Almost all the records are available in the Archives in Oros Budruk. An English officer completed the first Revenue Survey of the State in 1884. Besides having a thorough record of the revenue system obtaining in the Sawantwadi State, the Report also gives the personally observed information of the topography of the State and the way by which malaria was spreading in certain areas of Sawantwadi.

It should be important to see a note, which is written by the State Karbhari to the Political Superintendent as an example of the numerous notes found in the Records of Sawantwadi State. The present note is of 1890 regarding Sakharam Ramchandra Yogi. It states, "The word `Katuban' is neither Sanskrit nor pure Marathi. It seems to be a provincialism confined to the Savant Vadi State ... and I am unable to ascertain its correct derivation. The ordinary amputation of this word appears to be `fixed rent' and in this state it has always been held to

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59. His father, S.J. Fernandez, who was an officer of the State, narrated this story to the author. He was born in 1889 and recalled having heard the story about fifteen years later. It was narrated to the author when he was a schoolboy.

60. *SSR/R 25/State Karbhari Office - Katuban, F. No. 66, Vol. I, 1890 & 1891 & 1900 - 1904, Sawantwadi*, Petition from Purushotam Janardan Sabnis.

restrict the right of the holder to his generation when the grant expressly assures continuance from generation to generation (*vanshaparamparene*). All Katubans transferred by sale by the grantees have been resumed and the occupancy given at the full assessment. Such being the established custom with regard to this tenure Katuban is considered untransferable." The passage would give an idea of the way the disputes were settled.[61]

In the end of March 1904, the locusts had damaged Sawantwadi State much and they were threatening to settle down there. G.B. O'Donnell, the Political Agent, in an order made his observation known that the locusts were lazy in the morning and at that time or in moonlit nights it was very easy to catch them. Any one who would bring the locusts or their eggs and hand them over to the *ganv ganvkar* or *japtidar, fouzdar, kulkarni* and bring evidence that those locusts and eggs had been buried in the fields (because locust manure was very useful to the field) should be given an *inam* of one anna for 28 pounds weight.[62]

Laws and Courts of Sawantwadi

Courts of Civil Jurisdiction had to be appointed to adjudicate matters according to the laws of Sawantwadi modified by the Central Civil Codes. The Sawantwadi laws were in accordance with the general codes, which were in force in the rest of the country. But there were differences and these were when the customs differed in the case of Sawantwadi. There was a committee, which examined the Codes before they were applied to Sawantwadi and made the changes in them according to the customs of Sawantwadi. It was the modified central law, which became the State law when it was so declared by the Government. Notices displayed in the law courts and later on published in the Government Gazette and the annual report of the State made the declaration.

The cases were decided ultimately by the appellate of the Court of the Raja. As the Political Superintendent assumed the powers of the Raja, the final court of appeal was his. There was one subordinate Civil Court of the First *Nyayadhish* in Sawantwadi, which was sanctioned in Government letter No. 1158 of April 11, 1844.[63] There were Courts of Civil Jurisdiction

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61. *Ibid.*, From the State Karbhari to Political Superintendent, No. 336 of June 10, 1890.
62. *SSR/R 52/No. 877, Savantvadi Durbari Gazette, 1904-1905*, Vol. 16, No. 1 of April 6, 1904, p. 1, Outward No. 350 of March 31, 1904 by G.B. O'Donnell, Political Agent.
63. *SSR/R 4/ADM-31 H.A./J-1, Vol. II, Administrative Judicial 1867-1881*, From Lt. Col. F. Schneider, Political Superintendent, Sawantwadi to C. Gonne, Secretary to Government, Bombay, No. 498 of August 13, 1868.

and Appellate Jurisdiction sanctioned in Sawantwadi State. The Courts of Civil Jurisdiction were classified in the order passed as "A" Original Jurisdiction. These were 1. Court of the *Nyayadhish* at Sawantwadi, which heard long causes without limit. No. 2. Was occupied by the Court of the *Munsiff* at Kudal, which dealt with long causes without limit and small causes not exceeding Rupees 20. No. 3 was given to the Court of Judicial Assistant Political Superintendent, which dealt with small causes not exceeding Rupees 500. The second classification was given under "B" as Appellate Jurisdiction. At No. 1 was the Court of Political Superintendent, which heard long causes without Civil Special appeals against the decrees of the ex-officio assistants. Under No. 2 was shown the Court of the Judicial Assistant Political Superintendent, who heard long causes without limit. Under No. 3 was the Court of Ex-officio Assistant Political Superintendent when appointed SBB and heard long causes up to Rupees 500.[64]

An extract of the Court of Directors Dispatch of 1845 observes, "(earlier part missing - contd. 2 p. 244) has thus been obtained without the discouragement of *bona fide* suitors. The number of suits have been diminished to less than half, the proportion withdrawn previous to judgment, has nearly doubled while among those in which decrees were passed, the proportion of `non-suits' is only about half which it was previously."[65]

In 1902, L. Prendergast Walsh, Political Superintendent, announced in English and Marathi the Government intention of amending Section 11 and 266 of the Code of Civil Procedure in force in Sawantwadi State. The additions to the Sections were given and any person objecting to them was to submit his objections.[66]

Sawunt Waree Local Corps and the Police

The State Government raised the Sawunt Waree Local Corps in 1839. It was to serve within the limits of the State and was not bound to serve in a foreign country. Although there were two or three European Commissioned Officers, the non-commissioned officers and men were from Sawantwadi. It was disciplined, armed and clothed and maintained at

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64. *Ibid.*, From Sakharam Baji Baudekar to Lt. Col. G.R.C. Westropp, No. 26 of April 22, 1879.
65. *SSR/R 4/ADM-31 H.A./G-4 Vol. I,* From Chief Secretary to Bombay to Jacob, No. 2249 of May 10, 1845.
66. *SSR/R 20/Savantvadi Durbari Gazette, 1902-1903*, Vol. 14, No. 38 of December 17, 1902, pp. 2 and 3, Notification No. 4451 of December 9, 1902.

a cost to the Sawantwadi State of about Rupees 45 to 50,000. There was no military force maintained by the State. But there was still a large number of *shipahis* who received their pay by a *Sanad*, or grant on the revenues of land in their occupancy. They were liable to serve one month in the year as a sort of militia. They were known as *Sunudkari Shipahis*.[67]

The general police was placed under a distinct police officer at the three Pethas of Wadi, Kudal and Banda. Fouzdars were appointed in every village as the heads of the rural police in their own village, who had under them the Mahars or village watchmen. They reported all-important occurrences to the district police officer that had to convey it to head quarters. But the Fouzdars and rural police were unpaid and naturally showed little enthusiasm in the discharge of their duties.[68]

Mail runners of Sawantwadi Postal Service

Post offices were established in the three important towns of the Pethas and other suitable places where parties of the Sawunt Waree Local Corps were stationed for maintaining the public peace, and security of life and property.[69] Except in the three headquarters of the Pethas, the Post Offices were housed in a room of the Post Master's house. Runners brought the mail to the Sawantwadi Post Office, whose arrival was announced by blowing the bugle. Men who carried a staff with jingling bells also managed the transport of the mail to the different places. The money order from usually Mumbai was also carried this way to the places where the Post Office was situated and paid to the addressees from the smaller villages. The money orders were very important as the living of people depended upon them.

Balwantrao Rane's scheme of bazaar at Pawas

Captain Jacob received an application from Sardar Balwantrao Rane that he wished to establish at his own cost a Bazaar at his village Pawas about three kilometers from Kudal. He would receive in return in perpetuity the customary *Shetia* fees of it. He sent a report of the Daftardar as showing the custom of the Sawantwadi State. The tradesmen like Banias, grain and cloth merchants and Vanjaris came down the four Ghats of Narduin, Ghotge, Rangna and Hanmant, traveled through Pawas, Taruf

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67. Courtney and Auld, *Memoirs*, pp. 12-13.
68. *Ibid.*, p. 13.
69. *Ibid.*

Haveli, to the port of Vengurla and Taruf Pat. The tide came up to Pawas where vessels carrying up to ten *Bhuras* from Malwan could easily arrive at the creek. A large ship, even, could have a good anchorage a mile distant from the place. The boats etc., he said, came up to about four hundred paces from the Pat that he wanted to establish in perpetuity as provided for in the Government. Remission of dues for ten years and a lease gradually increasing for five years should be the conditions. After that period, he would pay the Government the sum that they might agree to. It would add to the prosperity of inhabitants of the place and of the traders.[70]

The Daftardar's report dated December 27, 1847 said that in the village of Ambrad Taruf Bordwe one Laro Babu Prabhu Nachnolkar of Malwan erected a new Pat. The *Kowl* for this Pat was granted to him and descendants in perpetuity in 1834-1835. It was granted that no tax should be imposed on the houses for seven years. After that he should pay an amount annually of Rupees Fifty and that it had been collected up to that time. It was said in the *Kowl* that he alone should be entitled to the *Mahajantri* of the Bazaar. Rupees Nine, the revenue of the spot on which the shops were erected, was debited annually to *Tota Khurch* and was credited to the villagers of Ambrad under the head of loss.[71]A *Sanad* granted to the *Shetya* for the shops erected at Aros village in the Banda Petha was forwarded to the Kamavisdar of Banda.[72]

Formerly it was the established rule that one who established a new Bazaar should be exempted payment of *Mutarfa* revenue for a certain number of years and then retains the management of the place in perpetuity to his lineage.[73]

This *Sanad* was granted to Hari Mutkund shett Parmekar and his descendants in perpetuity. The *Shetiaship* of the Bazar was to be erected by him at Aros. He was granted exemption of the *Mutarfa* for eight years and afterwards he was to pay 10 annas per shop and a certain scale of fees to be levied by him on produce brought for sale to his Bazaar.[74]

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70. *SSR/R 4/ADM-31 H.A./G-4 Vol. I*, From Jacob to Arthur Malet, Chief Secretary to Government of Bombay, No. 12 of January 21, 1848, Bulwunt Baboo Rao Rane, No. 120, pp. 281-282.
71. *Ibid.*, Report of the Daftardar dated December 27, 1847, pp. 283-284.
72. *Ibid.*
73. *Ibid.*, The above three paragraphs are taken from a Memorandum by Jacob.
74. *Ibid.*, p. 285.

Surmbal was the only place where the Government levied tolls on the river and the farm of them was sold for Rupees 79 per *kos* during that year and Rupees 103 in the preceding year. Although Balwantrao Rane stated that the success of his undertaking required that the farm of those river tolls should be placed in his hands (he was ready to purchase from the Government for 10 years) he made no claim to any right to a separate bunder.[75]

Amount of tolls that were exacted at Sarmbal on exportation by the Kudal River giving the average exported and the average amount realized was also sent with the letter.[76]But all this work and correspondence was done through oversight. The Sawantwadi State had no right to levy the toll since the British Government purchased the whole customs of Sawantwadi in the year 1836. Giving compensation to the Sawantwadi State abolished it. This ultimate decision was conveyed by Malet to Jacob by Government Order No.4899 of November 20, 1848. Rane had died by this time.[77]

Participation in 1857 War of Independence

Major J.W. Auld was the Political Superintendent when he received a letter from the Secretary to Government, Bombay, asking him to arrest Rango Bapuji, Wakil of the ex-Maharaja of Satara, who would try to escape into the Portuguese territory of Goa. Rango Bapuji had tried his utmost to stop the abolition of the throne of Shivaji Maharaj by the British. He had even gone to England in his fruitless quest and had returned empty handed. The British now wanted him and so a reward of Rupees 500 was offered for him.[78] Auld replied that his men had seized two of the "mutineers" who entered the Sawantwadi State. He said that he had heard of one more and had set people after him.[79] He informed him of two more persons who had gone from Kolhapur had also been seized at the village

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75. *Ibid.*, From Acting Political Superintendent to Arthur Malet, Chief Secretary, No. 47 of April 10, 1848, p. 291.
76. *Ibid.*, pp. 294-295.
77. *Ibid.*, From Malet to Political Superintendent, No. 1920 of May 1, 1848, pp. 297, 325-329.
78. *SSR/R 43/MSC H.A./729/F. No. 7, Mutiny and disturbances 1857, Vol. I*, from Secretary to Government, Bombay to Major J.W. Auld, Political Superintendent, No. 643 of June 24, 1857.
79. *Ibid.*, from Political Superintendent, Sawantwadi to the Secretary to Government, Bombay, No. 487 of August 6, 1857, p. 17.

of Gotos.[80] Auld said that he had the roads and Ghats of Sawantwadi pretty well guarded by trustworthy men.[81]

The 19th Regiment N.I., Kolhapur, had joined the War of Independence and some of them had escaped into Sawantwadi. Two privates from this Regiment had been arrested in the villages of Pawas and Asrond. Ramji Shirsat of the 27 Regiment was pursued by the police and had got within 40 feet of him. Shirsat abandoned his arms in his haste, ran into the jungle and escaped.[82] He had played an important part in taking the Kolhapur Military Treasure Chest on July 31, 1857 when the 27th Regiment N.I. joined the War of Independence. These men proceeded from Kolhapur to the Konkan. Ramji Shirsat was the acknowledged leader of the War of Independence of 1857. They were able to get from the treasure chest nearly half a lakh of Rupees and used it for the war.[83] Ultimately, Ramji Shirsat was shot dead in his second attempt to make his escape in the jungle of Pawas, just a few kilometers from Kudal. He was six feet and four inches tall.[84]

Phond Sawant IV and Raghunath Sawant ascend the Gadi

Ana Saheb had lived in the Palace on a small allowance with his right to succeed to the Gadi being unrecognized by the British. Having lived in such humility, he lacked any ability to control and had the habit of indulgence in drugs. When Khem Sawant IV expired in 1868, the British Government decided that he should succeed to the Gadi while remaining a nominal ruler and his powers should be restricted. He succeeded as Phond Sawant IV and died after two years. His son was Raghunath Sawant, who was six years old, and came to the Gadi in August 1870. The administration of the State had therefore to remain under the control of Political Superintendent. The minor Raja received his early training at Kolhapur under the supervision of the British Resident and later on at the Rajkumar College at Rajkot. In 1879, he married the daughter of Maharaja

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80. *Ibid.*, from Secretary to Government, Bombay, to Political Superintendent, Sawantwadi, No. 1362 of August 20, 1857, p. 18.
81. *Ibid.*, from Major J.W. Auld, Political Superintendent to H.L. Anderson, Secretary to Government, Bombay, No. 606 of September 7, 1857.
82. *Ibid.*, from Acting Superintendent of Police, Ratnagiri, to Major Auld, Political Superintendent, Sawantwadi, No. 281 of October 7, 1857.
83. *Ibid.*, from G.L. Jacob, Com. of Kolhapur and Special Commissioner to The Adjutant General of the Army, Bombay, No. 87 of October 22, 1857.
84. *Ibid.*, from Auld, Political Superintendent to Secretary to Government, Bombay, No. 809 of November 7, 1857.

Khanderao Gaekwar of Baroda, a marriage that was attended by the Political Superintendent Colonel Westropp. He died in 1899, and was succeeded by his cousin, Shri Ram Sawant Bhonsle. The Political Superintendent under the name and seal of the Raja carried on the actual administration. He was entrusted with the direct administration of the Paga, Durbar and Devasthan Departments of the State. Shri Ram Sawant died in 1913 leaving an only son who was born on August 20, 1897.[85]

On June 7, 1900, it was announced by L. Prendergast Walsh, Political Superintendent, Sawantwadi, that the Government of Bombay recognized Shri Ram Sawant Bhonsle, *alias* Raosaheb, as Sardesai of Sawantwadi State and directed that the administration should be carried on by the Political Agent, in the name and under the seal of the Sardesai. It was announced that the Political Superintendent, Sawantwadi, would be styled Political Agent, Sawantwadi.[86]

Conservation of the Forest

The Political Agent had appointed under the State Forest Act (India Act VII of 1878 as amended by Act V of 1890) all round Inspectors to issue passes for the transport of timber and other forest produce.[87] The Forest Officer announced the auction of the contract to graze the cattle and cut the excess grass. He also announced the auction of teak, and of forest coupes in places in the various Pethas, in the presence of the Political Agent.[88] The auction of hay and bamboos and in the presence of the Political Agent of coupes in forest in Pethas of Wadi, Kudal and Banda was regularly announced in various numbers in the *Savantvadi Durbari Gazette*. The peasants were given timber for building, wood for burning and for agricultural implements from eight circles of Forest. But then it was arranged to supply the wood from more convenient forest. The sanction for the wood would be given by the Forest Officer. The wood would be given at the rate of the fees and would be untransferable.[89]

The ownership of reserved trees like teak, *sisu, khair, chandan and patang* on private lands had vested in the State from time immemorial.

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85. *SSR/R 48/FH.1/826, History of Sawantwadi State, 1928-29*, Material for H.E's reply to H.H.'s Banquet Speech, pp.14-15, and A note prepared by the Diwan in 1929, pp. 53 and 55.
86. *SSR/R 20/Savantvadi Durbari Gazette, 1900-1901*, Vol. 10, No. 9 of June 13, 1900, p. 1, No. 2255 of June 7, 1900, Camp Amboli.
87. *Ibid.*, Vol. 10, No. 33, 4096 of November 17, 1900, p. 1,
88. *Ibid., 1902-1903*, Vol. 14, No. 5, of April 30, 1902, p. 3.
89. *Ibid., 1909-1910*, Vol. XXI, No. 2 of April 1, 1909, pp. 8-9.

Since 1864, a part of the sale proceeds of the reserved trees on private lands was given to landholders towards the protection and rearing of the trees on their lands.[90]

Excise department regularized

The liquor manufacturing business had to be controlled since the health of people and the easy availability of liquor had to be provided. The unfermented juice from the coconut palm was used as delicious tonic drink when it was drunk when fresh. But it became fomented when it was kept for a long time, and was drunk as an intoxicant. The juice of the cashew apple was also fermented. The distillation of these two fomented juices had to be regulated. This was done by State distilleries of liquor that was not more than 25 degrees or 60 degrees under proof and sold for resale to shops all over the State at a fixed price per gallon and dram.[91]

The possession of more than two tolas of *afin* was not allowed and the licensee to sell such *afin* was authorized to sell not more than two tolas of *afin* per day to an individual.[92] Tobacco gadi contracts for 113 villages were to be auctioned in 1895.[93]

Regulation of commerce and transport

The regulation of trade, commerce, industry and transport was very important for living in the State. The goods which were imported from abroad or exported from India paid the export or import duty or customs both internal and the sea. They were benefiting the British except for the nominal allowance payable to Sawantwadi. The octroi duties payable at fixed places on the border or at towns were the income of the State. The State thus collected the duties on a variety of goods that were imported inside the territory or exported outside it. The Toll naka *dasturi* was collected at Amboli Ghat road naka Amboli, Ram Ghat road naka Tulas, Hanmant and Rangna Ghat road naka Nerur and Narur, Ghotge Ghat road naka Ghotge, Phonda Ghat road naka Kasal, Ram Ghat and Talkat Ghat

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90. *Ibid., 1911-1912*, Vol. XXIII, No. 44 of February 7, 1912, pp. 351-352.
91. *Ibid.*, The Savant Vadi State Weekly Advertiser, 1893-1894, Vol. III, No. 10 of July 5, 1893, pp.3-9.
92. *Ibid., 1892-93*, Year 2, No. 28 of November 8, 1892, p. 1. Outward No. 386 of November 3, 1892.
93. *Ibid., Savantvadi Durbari Gazette, 1895-1896*, Vol. 5 No. 17 of August 21, 1895, Outward No. 13 of August 9, 1895.

naka Bhedshi, Talkat, Degve, Ajgaon road naka Malewad and Bandh Ghati and Sawantwadi Satarde road naka Aros and Satarde.[94]

Under the Sawantwadi Ferries Act the Government leased out the Ferries or *Tars* of Kiranpani between Aronda and Palyem, Sanvarjua between Aronda and Korgaon, and Ferries between Satarda and Pedne, between Santosen and Tambosen and between Kas and Torsen, Kudal Bhangsal, Belnadi Pawas, Oros Budruk, Bambardem, Bande, Kalne, Kaurpai, Kudase, Tilar and Talavdem.[95] They also authorized the levy of tolls on them at rates specified for four wheeled carriages, two wheeled carriages on springs, laden and unladen carts, laden or unladen *tattoes*, horned cattle and mules, laden or unladen horses, laden or unladen asses, laden or unladen camels, sheep or goats, palanquin with hamals, *toujou* or native *palna* with hamals and passengers other than children under three years of age.[96]

The British also tried to produce coffee, pepper, lemons along with coconuts, Alphonse mangoes, plantain trees, jack trees and many other fruit bearing trees that were grown in the State. The Tambuli Coffee and Pepper Estate was situated on a hill in the village of Tambuli at a distance of 15 kilometers from Sawantwadi. Fifty heads of cattle could be kept in the cattle shed. A small house, an office and water were provided on the Estate. The total area of the estate was 52 hectares. So was Mungi Thi-kan. The Tambuli Coffee and Pepper Estate had about 63,000 coffee trees of which about 44,000 were fruit bearing and 19,000 were young trees. Of the 13,000 pepper vines, about 6,000 were bearing fruit and about 7,000 were young ones. Of the 1,400 coconut trees, about 1,200 gave fruit. They had planted a number of other trees like Jack trees, Alphonse mangoes, cashew nut trees, kokum trees, tamarind trees, supari trees, lemons ordinary and sweet, bamboos, citrus, pomegranate and custard apples.[97] Of the produce of the Tambuli Estate, approximately 26 maunds of coffee and 87 maunds of pepper were to be auctioned, according to H.L. Nutt, the Political Superintendent.[98]

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94. *Ibid., 1902-1903*, Vol. 14, No. 43 of January 21, 1903, p. 1, No. 275/1902-1903.
95. *Ibid., 1895-96*, Vol. 5, No. 19 of September 4, 1895, p. 1, and *SSR/R 14/Savantvadi Durbari Gazette, 1923-24*, Vol. XXXV, No. 43 of January 16, 1924, p. 218.
96. *SSR/R 20/Savantvadi Durbari Gazette, 1895-96*, Vol. 5, No. 19 of September 4, 1895, p. 4.
97. *Ibid.*, Vol. 5, No. 23 of October 2, 1895, pp. 2-3, Notification No. 3471 of September 26, 1895.
98. *Ibid.*, The Savant Vadi State Weekly Advertiser, 1892-93, Year 2, No. 41 of February 8, 1893, p. 7.

Establishment of Municipal administration

By the end of the seventeenth century, Sawantwadi or Sunderwadi was carved out of the village of Charatha as the capital of the State. It was founded by Khemraj II to take the place of Kudal, the capital of the Deshprabhu. The site of the town was selected with an eye on the strategic importance of the place. On the west was the Narendra hill, which, though short in height, gave it the protection from surprise attacks. Beyond the hill, there was a stretch of land followed by the vast Arabian Sea. On the north, there were hills with the ghats at Akeri. On the south there were hills with two ghats of Mazgaon-Insuli and Malgaon that afforded it with protection. On the east were hills with the Sahyadri mounting its solid guard. It rested on a hill that gave it the security and protective slope surrounded by forest. Besides, it was only a few miles from the main road that connected Vengurla and Ram ghat and three miles or about a *kos* away from Malgaon. Banda was only a few miles away and so were the various ghats to its east and northeast, which sent their caravans to Sawantwadi.

Sunderwadi or Sawantwadi was at the foot of the Narendra hill. At the centre of the town was the beautiful Moti Talao with the various awaths surrounding it. On the east of the Moti Talao was the Sawantwadi fort with the palace, the Durbar and the offices. It had a wall surrounding it on the north, east and south. The Moti Talao defended the fourth side. There was a ditch surrounding the fort with a gate to the west that existed up to 1938. The areas in which the townsmen had to stay were marked as Khasgilwada, Sabniswada, Junabazar, Salaiwada, Vaniwada, Panzerwada, Baherchawada and Titawada.

The Sawantwadi market was on the top of a rising ground that was on the northern side of the Moti Talao. The shops were on both sides of the road and in between a building had been built in 1880s that was known as the Raghunathrao Market. The people from the surrounding villages came there to sell the fruits, vegetables, flowers and poultry from their farms and they had a big bazaar on Tuesday. All the cloth, utensil, jewelry and grain merchants had their establishments there.

Piped water supply and building activity in Sawantwadi town

A British engineer had arranged the water supply to Sawantwadi Town. The water was piped from Kesri to a built tank on Chivar hill and then supplied to the Palace, citizens and common people.

A wall had been built around the Moti Talao with ghats on the northern and western borders at the time of Colonel Westropp who was later on General Westropp. An arrangement was made to empty the tank on the north just in front of the gate of the Sawantwadi fort, which had been preserved while the walls of it were allowed to fall off.

Around the Moti Talao Colonel Westropp built the High Court, the Westropp Museum, the Westropp Civil Hospital and the Sawantwadi High School. The High School building was built under the supervision of the Head Master Panandikar. There was the library that had been sanctioned by French from Bombay. It was started in 1851 under the name of Native General Library and housed a good number of books, magazines and newspapers.

Beginning of town management scheme

In 1900, there was a Municipality Shaharwadi that looked after the small town. They had a budget of about Rupees Ten thousand which consisted of tax on vehicles and animals, a gharpatti or a tax on houses, *motarfa*, *bhangi patti*, the fees of the fish and vegetable market, fees for the *kondana* or place where stray cattle were kept, the *Doulat* or the State grant and miscellaneous grants. They took care of the hygiene, roads, *imles* or houses, lighting and water supply. The carrying out of all this work was under the supervision of the Government. [99] The Political Agent put the amendments to the Municipal Act before the citizens for their objections and then amended it.[100]

In 1997, a law was passed creating a Municipality with Government and civilian administrators to supervise the work. All these members were selected by the State. But the members began to show a little of their awareness of their position. The Political Agent Colonel O'Donnel who abolished the Municipality in December 1903 did not like this.[101]

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99. *SSR/R 20/Savantvadi Durbari Gazette, 1900-1901*, Vol. 10, No. 6 of May 30, 1900, p. 2.
100. *SSR/R 12/Savantvadi Durbari Gazette, 1915-1916*, Vol. XXVII, No. 47 of February 23, 1916, pp. 263-266.
101. Meghashyam D. Shirodkar, 'Sawantwadi Nagarpalikechi Chalis Varshantil Vatchal' in *Sawantwadi Nagarpalika Smaranika 1971*, pages not numbered.

When this experiment failed, the Government passed the Sawantwadi Town Vahiwat Act of 1904, with the supervision of the Political Agent in the beginning and later on the Chief Medical Officer.[102]

At that time the population of Sawantwadi town was 10212 and the limits of the town were increased to include the new police lines. The annual income of the municipality was within ten thousand and the expenses were within eight and a half to nine thousand. In 1904-05 the expenditure was Rs. 8,561. It was made up of Rs. 1600 for office and octroi staff, Rs. 3148 for *bhangis* and sweepers, Rs. 1107 for contractors to have the road lighting to be done, Rs. 727 for road repairs, Rs. 350 for sprinkling water on the road in summer, Rs. 441 for public tap water charges, Rs. 465 for the building and Rs. 742 as miscellaneous expenses.[103]

The staff of the City Vahiwat Department consisted of one City Vahiwatdar, one clerk, one bill collector, nine octroi staff, eleven sweepers and ten *bhangis*. There were three carts for carrying garbage with three cartmen and three coolies. There were two carts for carrying the excrement and they were taken care of by the *bhangis*. There were nine public and 127 private toilets. The number of houses was 1438. The births in the town were 189 and the deaths 154.[104]

The City Vahiwat Department did not have its own building till 1907-08. The office was situated in a place in a two storied building that was situated near the Raghunath market. The building caught fire on January 1, 1907 and the records of the City Vahiwat office were consumed by it. The next year the office was built at the site of resting of the carts on the banks of Moti Talao.[105]

In 1923-24 the income of the City Vahiwat Department had increased to more than Rs. 14,600. Those days were difficult in all respects. The epidemic form of influenza was raging Sawantwadi in 1918 which killed a large number of people. In its wake came malaria to harass the citizens. The population of the town that was 10,212 in 1901 had come down to 7,944 in 1921. The number of houses in 1901 was 1,438. It had come down to 1,379 in 1923. In 1922-23 the number of births were 192 and deaths were in indirect proportion of 232. In the year 1923-24 the

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102. Ibid.
103. *Ibid.*
104. *Ibid.*
105. *Ibid.*

proportion had improved and put the figures of births at 225 and deaths at 177.[106]

A municipal officer checked the prices of goods that were sold in the market and published them every fortnight. The prices of grains, legumes, liquids, fruits, sweet meats, vegetables, grass and hay, mutton, flowers, milk, kerosene and metals were given according to the measure. These can be seen in *Savantvadi Durbari Gazette* and can astound one's mind to know the cheapness of things in the last decade of the nineteenth century, and up to the end of the State of Sawantwadi.[107]

Devasthans administration controlled by State legislation

The Sawantwadi Devasthan Act came into force on July 1, 1907.[108] The Devasthans included all Hindu public temples and all other religious and charitable institutions. It included the movable and immovable property of Devasthans. There was a Devasthan Committee of *Wahiwatdars* in charge of their management. The Devasthan authorities consisting the Durbar, the State Karbhari and the Superintendent were to sanction the budget and defray the expenses with the help of the Committee.[109] The *Devsu* thikans were given as *Bhagelpan* by the Karbhari's orders for between five to 25 years. Shrideo Rameshwar, Shrideo Mauli, Shrideo Khambarbi, Shrideo Ravalnath, Shrideo Narayan, Shrideo Brahmeshwar and two hundred more temples were repaired, the puja and jatras were held with great piety and pomp every year.[110]

Public health and efforts to control epidemics

The medical attention was brought into the Sawantwadi State with the army, police and the European officers who were posted in the territory. They attended the illnesses and diseases of the Indian soldiers and police and by demand of the Sawantwadi officers and gentry. In 1839 Dr. Spencer was appointed as the Medical Officer. A hospital was started in 1853 and was housed in an airy building on a raised ground adjoining the Moti Talao. It had 24 beds for men and 12 for women. It was known as

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106. *Ibid.*
107. *SSR/R 12 and R 20/Savantvadi Durbari Gazette*, See, for example, Vol. 7, No. 15 of August 4, 1897, p. 3, and those published in every fortnight of the Gazette.
108. *SSR/R 52/No. 881, Savantvadi Durbari Gazette 1907-1908*, Vol. 19, No. 9 of May 29, 1907, P. 58, No. 1285 of April 27, 1907.
109. *Ibid.*, pp. 59-64.
110. *Ibid./R 20/1902-1903*, Vol. 14, No. 3 of April 16, 1902, p. 1.

the Westropp Civil Hospital. A dispensary was opened at Kudal and Banda. Dr. Barjorji Ardesar, who was the Assistant Surgeon, giving the prevailing endemic diseases in the State, prepared a medical report. Later on, Dr. Dalgado, a Goan M.D. from Paris, was appointed as the Chief Medical Officer. The reports and the treatment continued and the epidemics of smallpox, cholera and plague were tried to be controlled. The prevalence of malaria and the attack of influenza were a formidable challenge. The British provided medical attention to the population of Sawantwadi but it was too little for it.

Educational advancement of the people

The children of the royal family and sons of the gentry received education in the traditional form from the class in the Palace. There were also individuals in the towns and villages of the State who gave tuitions to children in the three R's for a fee of food grains and of money. But the literacy rate in the whole State was perhaps less than one per cent counting the numbers of the Brahmins, Vaishyas and Mahrattas who went to such teachers. The British started schools in towns where they built schools in which they admitted students from all communities, although it was difficult to admit students from the untouchable class. They had four classes in the schools where the student could learn to read and write in Marathi and Modi script, arithmetic, history and geography. They had the education department that administered the schools and tried to raise the standard of education. They had started one high school in Sawantwadi in which there were some teachers who were graduates. The Sawantwadi High School was housed in a beautiful building and in it were taught subjects like Marathi, English, History, Geography, either Sanskrit or Persian, Mathematics which included Algebra and Geometry and Physics and Chemistry. The passing in these subjects got the student the Matriculation certificate of the University of Bombay. Most of the Matriculates or non-Matriculates were fit for jobs but a few of them went for higher education, either for Arts or Science degrees of B.A. or B.Sc. or of M.A. or M.Sc. or for a medical or law degree. A few of the Matriculates got their B.A., B.Sc., M.B.B.S. or LL.B. degrees and some got back to hold posts in the State. Some of them went to the I.C.S. as some of the students of the Sawantwadi High School did. There were 154 schools and 11,618 students in the State in 1924-1925 and this gave a percentage of 6

per cent of the population that was literate which compared favourably with literacy in Kolhapur, Southern Maharashtra States and Janjira.

Thus the State of Sawantwadi had made enough progress in the various fields. Considering that the Company was primarily interested in the port of Vengurla and the road from there to the Ramghat and beyond the mountains to the Deccan before the railways were established in the 1870s, they were in fact ready to give as much attendance to the needs of the people to the extent the poor resources of the State would carry.

Chapter 6

KHEM SAWANT BHONSLE V: A VISION THROUGH THE FOG

SHRI RAM SAWANT BHONSLE expired in 1913[1] when his heir to the Gadi, Khem Sawant Bhonsle, was in England. He was declared by the Government of India as the Sardesai of Sawantwadi State[2] and the administration of the State was carried on by the British Political Agent in his name as such had been the practice since 1838. The Sardesai was to continue with his education in Malvern, Worstershire, England.

Khem Sawant was born on August 20, 1897,[3] the only son of his father, although he had four sisters. He was unfortunate in losing his mother when he was less than five years old[4] but his eldest sister who later was married to the Maharaja of Dhar very lovingly looked him after.[5]

Childhood under British governess

The problem was the education of this handsome and sweet smiling boy and the Political Agent solved it. When the boy was six years old, he was placed under the care of Miss L.C. Moxon, to undergo a preliminary course of training.[6] She was a kind hearted, warm, efficient and firm English woman who acted as his governess and lived at Khadki near Pune. He was in the company of Fatehsinghrao Bhonsle of Akalkot who was his maternal uncle but only two years older than him in age.[7]

Khem Sawant left his home in 1903 and stayed with his "Granny", as he lovingly called Miss L.C. Moxon throughout her life, and received his preliminary training as a Mahratta prince. He had two teachers, Patil and Kavatkar, who taught him Marathi, and, so it is gathered, the teaching of his religion and its practices.[8]

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1. *Sawantwadi State Records* (Hereafter *SSR*) */ R 48/FH 1 / 826, History of Sawantwadi State,* (Hereafter *History of Sawantwadi*), p. 21.
2. *Ibid.*
3. M. N. Vaidya, *Shrimant Bapusaheb Maharajanchem Charitra ani Athwani*, (Hereafter *Bapusahebanchem Charitra*), p. 42.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 42-43.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 132.
6. *SSR, History of Sawantwadi*, p. 21.
7. M. N. Vaidya, *op. cit.*, p. 43.
8. *Administration Report of the Sawantwadi State, 1908,* (Hereafter *ARSS*), p. 1.

He learnt English language and manners from Miss Moxon, as also the various subjects and sports like riding, hunting, cricket, hockey and football under several teachers and coaches. Khadki was a military camp and Khem Sawant began growing up as a Mahratta Prince trained as an English gentleman. He learnt western music and the piano and passed the Trinity College of Music Junior Certificate Examination at the age of ten.[9] In 1910, he went to Kolhapur to receive his training under one Lieutenant J.C. Tate.[10]

Sent to England for college education

It was in January 1912 that he was sent to England with Miss Moxon where he studied at first at a preparatory school at Malvern before starting his studies at the Malvern College.[11] He became popular at Allen's preparatory school because of his high skill in cricket, hockey. Riding, rugby and at the indoor games like badminton and billiards. He was courteous, gentlemanly and generous with everyone and had life long correspondence with many of his friends and acquaintances. Allen wrote to Major Pottinger, who was the Political Agent of Sawantwadi, saying that the Prince had been liked by all and Lord Syddenham, who was the Governor of Bombay and had suggested the sending of Khem Sawant to England, was pleased at his progress over there.[12]

Then, in December 1912, he was put under the guardianship of a Christian priest named Reverend E.L. Holmes.[13] He joined the College at Malvern and in 1913, on the death of his father, he was recognized by the Government of India as the Sardesai of Sawantwadi State. He was, however, to complete his collegiate term at Malvern.[14]

Military training in World War I

But the World War I broke out in 1914 and Khem Sawant wanted to have military training in order to fight in the front. He did not succeed in getting the training and so he finished his Malvern College education in the summer of 1916.[15] But later that year he was allowed to join the Second

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9. *Ibid.*, p. 1.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 21.
11. *Ibid.*
12. M. N. Vaidya, *op. cit.*, p. 49.
13. *Ibid.*
14. *SSR, History of Sawantwadi*, p. 21.
15. M. N. Vaidya, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

Officer's Cadet Battalion Training School at Cambridge.[16] And when he had met King Emperor George V, his second meeting with the man he had met as Prince of Wales in India and had a short conversation with him, he was gazetted Second Lieutenant and attached to the 116th Mahratta Light Infantry.[17] He started on his journey to India arriving there in 1917, and after a short holiday during which he visited his relations and subjects of Sawantwadi for just twenty-four hours, went off to his assignment in Mesopotamia.[18] He was very popular with his subordinates, many of them his subjects.[19] When the War ended in 1918, he was repatriated and came to India on March 4, 1919. He was conferred with the permanent Honorary Rank of Captain and was permanently attached to the 1st Battalion of the 116th Mahrattas.[20] He had the permanent salute of nine guns but he was conferred with a salute of eleven guns inside the State in 1921 for services in connection with the War.[21]

Administrative training under Collector of Belgaum

After a lot of jubilation among his subjects, Khem Sawant was posted with the Collector of Belgaum to receive his administrative training. He went with the Collector as well as with the Deputy Collector to the villages to learn first hand about the revenue affairs; he attended the district and sessions judge's courts along with them when they heard the original and appellate cases; and had experience in every other department of administration. He was busy with this activity for about two and a half years.[22] This had brought him to the problems of the people of Sawantwadi State, which were already occupying his mind. He sought solutions to them from his learning and the advice of many of his acquaintances.

He used to live at Hindalge in the Sawantwadi bungalow when he received his training. He went to Amboli and Sawantwadi very often and visited his sister, Akkasaheb, who was the Maharani of Dhar and her husband, Sir Udajirao Maharaja Pawar.

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16. *SSR, History of Sawantwadi*, p. 21.
17. M. N. Vaidya, *op. cit.*, p. 52.
18. *Ibid.*, pp. 57-58.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 62.
20. *SSR, History of Sawantwadi*, p, 21.
21. *Ibid.*
22. M. N. Vaidya, *op. cit.*, pp. 68-69.

Personal Diary of Khem Sawant V

It is very interesting to read the *Personal Diary of Khem Sawant V*, which he started writing from January 1, 1921 every day up to two days before his death on July 4, 1937. Written with a pencil in a small diary in the first few years, it turns out to be an octavo sized diary written in ink with neat and efficient handwriting with a page for a day. He tells us about his various visits to the families of the Maharajas of Dhar, Baroda, Gwalior, Kolhapur and the Raja of Akkalkot, about his visits to the Viceroy and the Governor General of India, the Governor of Bombay, the Emperor Edward VIII, and meeting with Mahatma Gandhi and his secretary Mahadevbhai Desai, who were his guests for a few days, Pandit Madan Mohan Malvia, C.K. Naidu, Dr. Cheema and the common people he happened to meet in the State including the peasants, the middle class people and administrators, the hunts in which he participated and his frequent meetings with Satam Maharaj who lived at Danoli and whom he venerated. The games he played almost every day are referred to and the matters of administration occur at every page. The diary also describes the forts, the ghats and the rivers of Sawantwadi. In fact, every thing is described as the fight against malaria, plague, cholera, smallpox and typhoid. The maternity home and the hospital, the devdasi system and, above all, the education system and agricultural and industrial reforms that were tried are also mentioned. Although there are no emotions displayed over the various things, which interested him, there is a reserved mind enlisting the hundreds of people and the administrative details that he dealt with.[23]

Travels to North India

In 1921, Khem Sawant went to Dhar where he shot a panther and a pig[24] and was on another panther shooting a few days later.[25] He arrived at Dhar, drove Rolls Rice and shot at buck but missed it.[26] In the afternoon, went for fishing at Nat Nagar[27] and three days later shot a panther.[28]

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23. *Personal Diaries of Khem Sawant V, 1921-1937*, (Hereafter *Diary*).
24. *Diary,* February 27 and 28, 1921.
25. *Ibid.*, March 6, 1921.
26. *Ibid.*, June 24, 1921.
27. *Ibid.*, June 25, 1921.
28. *Ibid.*, June 28, 1921.

During 1926-27, he went to Dhar to console his sister when her husband, the Maharaja of Dhar, had expired. He attended the Session of the Chamber of Princes in Delhi. He visited Gwalior, Agra, Mathura and Baroda and went to Mumbai to see Sayajirao, the Maharaja of Baroda, who was going to England. He attended the agricultural show in Pune and presided over Bombay City Cooperative Conference.[29] He went to Dhar and Baroda for a month and visited the same places again in 1929-30 and to Mumbai in connection with the Viceroy's visit. In July 1930, he went to Mumbai to attend a meeting of Princes called by the Chief Saheb of Sangli.[30] On February 27, 1931, he left for Dhar, taking with him the Kamavisdar of Kudal and the Agricultural Adviser, in connection with the Dhar Colonization Scheme, to see if surplus population could be sent there. He went to Baroda and was in Mumbai from April 14 to 20 to welcome the new Viceroy Lord Willingdon and see off Lord Irwin. In June he left for Mumbai and again visited Mumbai to attend the Princes Conference that was held on June 30, 1931.[31] In October 1931 he was at Dhar because of the death of Maharani of Dhar. "The passing away of Akka. She was a model eldest sister, so affectionate and loving, and to me and Bobby she was like a mother also."[32] In October 1931, he had been to Karwar to see Bell's collection of butterflies, in February 1932, he went to Sangli to meet the Indian States Committee and in March 1932, he went to Delhi to attend the sessions of the Chamber of Princes.[33] These were only a few of the visits to various places, which were preceded and succeeded by a tremendous official correspondence and papers. His wide travels to important places gave him varied contacts, which could be used by him in pursuit of the welfare of the State.

Marriage with a Princess of Baroda

When he was twenty-five years of age, he agreed to a marriage with Laxmibai, the grand daughter of Maharaja Sayajirao Gaekwar of Baroda.[34] Her father, who was the natural heir to the throne, had died when Laxmibai was two years old and her bringing up was the responsi-

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29. *ARSS, 1926-27*, p. 2.
30. *Ibid.*, 1929-30, p. 2.
31. *Ibid.*, 1930-31, p. 2.
32. *Diary*, October 31, 1931.
33. *ARSS, 1931-32*, p. 2.
34. M. N. Vaidya, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

bility of Sayajirao Gaekwar.[35] Her brother was Pratapsingh Gaekwar who became the Maharaja of Baroda after the death of Sayajirao Gaekwar. The name of Laxmibai was changed to Parvatidevi according to the practice.[36] The marriage took place in Baroda. The Maharaja and Maharani of Dhar, the Maharaja of Kolhapur and the Raja of Akkalkot attended the wedding[37] at which Sayajirao Gaekwar could not remain present as he was in England at the time.[38]

A number of *sardars, inamdars, darakdars* and officials of the State of Sawantwadi were entertained at Baroda by the Gaekwar and among the officials was a Christian who recollected an incident during the marriage celebrations. This was the *santhmar* or the teasing of an enraged elephant by a horseman in an arena surrounded by a high enough walls. The horseman eluded the elephant and when it was impossible to do so, the attendants intervened between the two by throwing on the ground loud banging balls of gunpowder, which produced a thick smoke. As the game was going on, the Maharaja of Kolhapur arrived, and instead of sitting with the other spectators on the walls, he went to sit on a pedestal built round a tree. When the maddened elephant saw the Maharaja, he turned his attack towards him. He was saved by the balls of gunpowder, which were banged by the attendants. The brave Maharaja of Kolhapur, Shahu Maharaja, was not scared. He died a few days later at Mumbai where he had gone from Baroda.[39]

Conferring of Powers from Secretary of State

Khem Raj was sent for education when he was six years old and he continued his training up to the age of twenty-five. People had started wondering why a young man with intelligence of a high order, who had been educated by Englishmen and in England, had received his training under the Collector of Belgaum and was fitted with knowledge of all the subjects, should have waited for two more years for getting the rights of governance. It was now eighty-six years, in 1924, since the British had been ruling in the State. They had said in 1838 that they would hand over the power which they had abrogated to a Sardesai they found was capable

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35. *Ibid.*, pp. 74-75.
36. *Ibid.*, p. 78.
37. *Ibid.*, p. 77
38. *Ibid.*, p. 78.
39. Salvador J. Fernandez, who was an officer of the State, narrated this incident to the author when he was a boy.

of taking over. The British government could hardly have denied that in Khem Sawant Bhonsle were the education, training, character and abilities, which fitted him to be a ruling Sardesai of Sawantwadi. The British administrators wanted to give him the powers to rule over the State but wished to grant them in installments. But Khem Sawant V would have nothing if not the entire powers under the Treaties. It was in these circumstances that the British government finally decided to hand over the entire power to the Raja excepting the powers, which were reserved under the Treaty of 1819.[40]

The restitution of the powers to rule over the State was fixed for October 28, 1924. Crowds of people began to gather in the capital of the State, Sawantwadi, on that day. The numerous buses full of people from Vengurla, Malwan, Belgaum, Aronda, Banda, Kudal, Ajgaon, Shiroda, Redi and other places began to arrive in the town. Several eating-places had in the end to stop catering to the customers. Tea and soda water were being sold at double the usual price. About forty to fifty thousand people had poured to Sawantwadi for the occasion and who could claim that in a State with a population of two lakhs the number was too large to expect. Every family in the State was perhaps represented to have a *darshan* or look at the Raja on this auspicious occasion.[41]

The ceremony was to take place in the *kelbag*, or plantain orchard, in front of the Palace.[42] A platform was set up and decorated and on it sat the important guests like Prince Pratapsingh Gaekwar, Lieutenant Colonel Pottinger, Mr. McGregor and representatives of the Sawantwadi Darbar. Behind a screen on the platform were the women members of the royal family including the three sisters of the Sardesai. The Maharani of Dhar did not attend but sent her daughter, Princess Vijaya Raje.[43]

Khem Sawant Bhonsle V arrived at the venue at exactly five minutes to four. He was wearing a *Darbari* coat of golden lace and on his head did pearls and diamonds enrich the Mahratta pagree.[44] Exactly at four o'clock, the Political Agent, Mackey, arrived[45] and Khem Sawant Bhonsle V had to walk the whole length of the carpet to keep the honour of

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40. M. N. Vaidya, *op. cit.*, pp. 85-87.
41. *Vainateya*, Year 1, No. 2, November 4, 1924, p. 3.
42. *Ibid.*
43. *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4.
44. *Ibid.*, p. 3.
45. M. N. Vaidya, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

the Emperor of India in order to receive him. He accompanied him back to the two chairs. The Political Agent had brought a *Kharita*, that is a *Khalita*, which was a letter received from Leslie Wilson, Governor of Bombay. It announced that the Kaiser-i-Hind Emperor and his Secretary of State were conferring on Khem Sawant alias Bapusaheb Bhonsle all the powers, which belonged to him as Sardesai of Sawantwadi.[46] He said that the Sardesai had been thinking "more of the duties and responsibilities of your office than of its privileges... The noble response to the call of arms during World War I gives a claim for amelioration of condition of the people." To this, Mackie added, " No one can meet Your Highness without being aware of a keen and subtle intellect."[47]

While accepting the powers, Khem Sawant V acknowledged that he had administrative training under General Westropp, Lt. Col. Pottinger and Mr. MacGregor.[48] He announced, "that he desires from his heart that whichever caste, *panth* or religion his subjects may be, they should maintain friendly relations and should remember that they are children of one God - that they should remember this and behave with unity and friendship."[49] He also announced, "On the auspicious and happy occasion, to commemorate the taking over of the political administration in his own hands, the whole installment of land revenue of *sheri thikans* to be paid in May 1925 is declared to be non-payable to the State by the Ryots. The exemption should be given by the superior landholder to the inferior in the proportion of half and half."[50] A similar announcement had also been made about the whole installment of May 1925 of State land revenues in his speech on the occasion.[51] He also announced the remission of the punishment of a woman from the prison and the reduction of the period of punishment of seven other men prisoners.[52] He said that he desired to have a vigorous drive for the education of women in the State and that he considered it his duty to help in the education of the Mahratta society. He said that many a people had to migrate for a living because of the poor condition of agriculture in the State. It was necessary to put in much more

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46. *Vainateya*, Year 1, No. 2, November 4, 1924, p. 2.
47. *ARSS, 1924-25*, p. 2.
48. *Ibid.*
49. *SSR / R-14 / Sawantwadi Durbari Gazette, 1924-25,* (Hereafter SDG) XXXVI, No. 33, Extraordinary, October 29, 1924, pp. 161-162.
50. *Ibid.*, XXXVI, No. 37, November 26, 1924, p. 179.
51. *Vainateya,* Year 1, No. 2, November 4, 1924, p. 2.
52. *Ibid.*.

effort to improve agriculture and he said that he would not rest without trying for its improvement. He also made it a point to announce that the education of the *bahujan samaj*, that is the vast majority of the population of the State, would be considered his most important duty.[53]

Knowing the land and the people

The State was small, just nine hundred and twenty-five square miles in area as we have noticed earlier, and the subjects enumerated in the 1921 census were 2,06,440. They lived in Tal Konkan where the resources for a living were reputed to be meagre. The people made their living by depending on the traditional methods of agriculture, horticulture, trade and commerce. The medicines that filtered to the two hundred and twenty-two villages were so few that they could hardly counter the ravages of malaria, plague, smallpox, cholera, typhoid, influenza and dysentery. More than 94 per cent of the population was illiterate. And it was highly religious and superstitious. A large number of people had migrated to cities like Mumbai and Karachi and sent back money orders from their salaries of small jobs. But the people were honest, hard working and courageous. Khem Sawant V had spent fifteen years away from the people for whom he wanted to provide an administrative structure that would give them an opportunity to struggle in getting the advantages of modernity. He had to do this with a great deal of caution. This effort he could exercise in getting first hand knowledge of the country and the people he wanted to guide.

He certainly knew the Sahyadri on the top of which he stayed in a Palace at Amboli and could see with binoculars the country stretching down below up to the shore of the Arabian Sea. He went to Kudal with Colonel Harrison and camped in tents on the other side of the Bhangsal River.[54] In the morning after tea he went for a ride in the Sawantwadi town[55] and could see the people in the rainy season. He went for a short stroll to parts of Khasgilwada[56] and went for a short ride up to Malgaon and down the descent up to the bottom of the Malgaon ghat.[57] He was going to Mumbai to attend the arrival of the Viceroy and embarked on the

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53. *Ibid.*
54. *Diary*, January 13, 1922.
55. *Ibid.*,, July 16 and 18, 1924.
56. *Ibid.*, July 27, 1924.
57. *Ibid.*, August 27, 1924.

"Vegawati" which came across Vengurla.[58] He went to a number of places in the interior of the State as one of the numerous official programmes show. On January 7, 1925, he went from Sawantwadi to Awalegaon and stayed there up to the 12th. He then proceeded to Kalsuli up to January 15 and thence to Vasargaon up to January 21.[59] These were only the halting places from which he would be visiting a number of villages surrounding them. On February 11, 1925, there was another programme of visiting different villages and halting places.[60] The number of villages visited in a programme of fifteen days would come to fifteen at the least.

Thus, while camping at Ajgaon, he rode out as far as the mouth of the Tiroda River and then was taken across by boat to Redi fort. He went around the fort and found it to be an interesting old place where the walls were still in a place of good preservation. He was shown around by the Shiroda and Redi *kulkarnies*. Then he had a bathe on the Shiroda side of the shore. On the way back, he went to the Church at Ajgaon, at the invitation of the Padre. He tells us that there were many Christians at Ajgaon and that some of them had collected there.[61]

About five days later, he was rowed down the creek to its mouth just by Terekhol Fort and saw the slot where rocks had been broken belonging to Aronda Math. He noticed a vast amount of sand collected on the southern shore, the water going to a comparatively small channel. After returning, he had a bathe in the creek.[62]

Then, a fortnight later, he went up the river as far as Banda between Satose and Kas on the way. The inspector of Customs waited and broke the journey by three hours excluding the time taken to go to Satose temples. He did not get as far as Banda but got out at Lakalkot as it was getting dark and it would have taken him more than three or four hours.[63]

On *Gudi Padva* day, while he was camping at Shirshinge (Gotyewadi), he was going to the Manohar Fort as far as Savarwadi (Awath of Sangeri). He had *darshan* of Shri Prabha Rukmini, where the *wanis* of the hamlet had collected. From thence he got on foot to the

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58. *Ibid.*, November 29, 1924.
59. *SSR / R-14 / SDG, 1924-25,* XXXVI, No. 42, December 31, 1924, p. 205.
60. *Ibid.*, No. 48, February 11, 1925, p. 248.
61. *Diary,* March 13, 1927.
62. *Ibid.*, March 18, 1927.
63. *Ibid.*, March 28, 1927.

Camp. The road from half way between 5th and 6th milestone started running up like a regular *ghat* with numerous twists and turns. Then, from about the 8th milestone, the route went low or rested on a level but still twisted and turned a fair amount. Up from the place where the road parted from about half a mile from Kokie, the road went to forest. Kokie hamlet was just below the road at about the 12th milestone. The road was fully equipped for cart traffic as far as Kokie. He reached the Camp at about 8.30.[64]

The next morning, at about 6.40 a.m., he started climbing up Manohargad. To get up to the Fort, one had to go from the Shivapur side, the least way being to proceed around the Satuli-Wasoli road for about two miles and then climb. He went this way and reached the top at about 8.40 a.m., just two hours after setting out. He rested for about an hour. He could see Manasantoshgad across the *ghats* separating the two forts. The gap, he observed, is approximately 66 yards wide, but there was at that time no possibility of access to Manasantoshgad. From the fort, he went down to Shivapur and to Shri Bhairao temple in Kadkadi's awath where he had dinner and rested in the afternoon. After tea, he went to Shri Ravalnath Temple, the main village temple, and started back to the Camp which he reached at about 7.15 p.m. after a strenuous break. A number of Shivapur and Shirshinge men insisted on accompanying him up the Manohargad and even the Kalambist *fouzdar* was with them.[65]

Khem Sawant V had climbed the Manohargad after the British Political Superintendent, Captain G. Le Grand Jacob, had gone up in 1849 to destroy the *'chorwat'* or narrow ledges running along the north-west face of the fort with a fall of several hundreds of feet. This *chorwat* had been revealed to the British after it was used by the *gadkaries* on two occasions in retaking Manohargad from the Kolhapur troops. Lowering some men by a rope had destroyed the chorwat.[66] The fort, which is 2,700 feet high, has been described by the British as one of the most formidable ones in the whole of India. Khem Sawant V has made no reference to the *chorwat* and its destruction and, it is being assumed, that he did not know about it.

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64. *Ibid.*, April 3, 1927.
65. *Ibid.*, April 4, 1927.
66. *SSR / R-43 / MSC/H.A./ 723 F.No. 3 R*, Vol. 1.

The Ramghat had been the main military road up the Sahyadri Mountain, which had been in existence for centuries. It had been built up with wide enough steps over which elephants and guns could be moved with huge imperial armies. In peacetimes, it was used for transporting goods on caravans of animals but after the railway was started, the Amboli ghat had been built and the Ramghat had fallen into disrepair in the dark period of forgotten history. Khem Sawant went by the "Ford" for Ramghat and went down to the camp at Mulas.[67] About one and a half years later, he motored out to Nangartas way, which is a few miles from Amboli, and then walked to the top of the Cowlisat course, a distance of about one and a half mile. He observed that he had never been to that beautiful spot before and that it was very beautiful.[68] The State had seven cars and these were two Mercedes Benz, one seven seater and the next five, and one each of Packard, Chevrolet, which was a five seater, Plymouth, Peugeot and Ford.[69]

He received a deputation of some of the people of Sawantwadi town including Mangeshrao Sabnis and had a long discussion with him dealing with the formation of a public committee to educate public opinion.[70] He regularly attended office and saw the Administrator, Malaria Medical Officer, Education Inspector, the Chief Forest Officer, the Agricultural Adviser and others very punctually and gave attention to reforms in their work. The references to such work are numerous in the Diary. He studied Marathi, the law, and the reports that were submitted like the Revenue Survey Settlement Report or the Education Committee Report very critically. He was well versed in music and paid critical attention to the music that was played by the police band in the Palace every week. He noticed the horrible errors in English, which were committed not only by school students but also by the staff. He used to meet his subjects during his elaborate tours of the villages and get grievances and needs noted down so that he could get them redressed by the officers concerned. These matters were numerous and were attended by him in the daily routine of his work.

He acquainted himself with the people, their surroundings and the persons running the administration of the State. He studied law very

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67. *Diary*, November 25, 1927.
68. *Ibid.*, May 17, 1929.
69. *SSR / R-50 / ADM-28 / H.H./ 864*, copy of letter No. 45 of January 15, 1934.
70. *Diary*, January 18 and 19, 1922.

regularly and seriously and also the Marathi language and literature, which were naturally neglected, during his training abroad. He read books like *The Prevention of Malaria* and reports of Dr. Strickland who had been commissioned by the State to study the prevalence of malaria and the measures that should be taken to eradicate it from the State.

He studied the Revenue Settlement Report that was submitted at this time so as to get an idea of the agricultural condition of the State. He studied the forest to know the way the plantation of trees was conducted and the way they were looked after and cut for being sold. He studied the Administration Reports of the State and got to know the income and expenditure and the way it was to be raised and spent. He was acquainted with the various departments because of his regular meetings with the heads of departments.

The people's lot could not be understood without knowledge of the place they lived in. It was indeed very important that he should have first hand knowledge of the land he was to rule, if that was what he was to do. He went out for a ride to various places, camped at places in the interior, roamed about the places and thus got an intimate knowledge of the State. After leaving the car at the last point it could go, Khem Sawant V started walking the difficult long footpaths. He visited the temples, which were the refuge of all the people in times of want, difficulties, devotion and joy. When the people said he had taken the unusual way in walking by the sunny path, he told them that it was easy for him as he was used to it.

Khem Sawant Bhonsle was really the man the poor people of his State were free with. He really wanted to know their problems and he behaved with them not as a king who was distant and forbidding but as an administrator who was keen to understand what their problems were so that he could solve them the best way he could.

Truly a Hindu

People began to wonder of how Khem Raj had remained dedicated to his religion in spite of spending all the time of his education among Christian tutors and in the Christian land of England. In spite of his thorough exposure to Christian teachings about religion, "He considered it his duty to study Hinduism on his assumption of power and has found therein ... a satisfying religion. He zealously observes the prescribed fasts twice a week, but lets them not interfere with his work or play." This quotation is taken from "Sawantwadi: A Maratha State" written by Dr.

Robert H.H. Goheen, the American missionary, in an article he published on April 3, 1928.[71] He was faithful to Hindu religion and philosophy throughout his life. He was a true believer in the gods of the Hindu pantheon and never started his day or an important work in hand without joining his two hands together and closing his eyes for a few minutes when he said his prayers. Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar witnessed this practice of his when he did not start the work of his Court of Final Appeal without a prayer of this kind in the Court.[72] His diary mentions the name of the religious festival, which fell on that day. He went to the temple, which were a few paces from the Palace to do obeisance to the deity that was being worshipped.

While recording the day in his Diary as *Ganesh Chaturthi*, he mentioned that he "went and made obeisance before Shri Ganapati but did not wait upon the *puja*."[73] The idol of Ganapati used to be six feet tall and in a sitting posture, painted in bright red colour, which is called *shendur* in Marathi. The Ganapati was worshipped for eleven days by all the people in the capital and taken on the last day in procession from the Palace. The procession was made up of the police marching, with the armed policemen carrying their rifles. A few soldiers riding their horses and carrying the spears accompanied them. The police band headed the procession fully uniformed and playing instruments, which were western. There were also the *nagara, tasha, shehanahi and the tutari* playing all along the route. They went over a steep road, by the side of the Raobahadur Market, and to the *Matha* where the kings were cremated and the buildings built in their commemoration. Then the Ganapati, which was a replica of the palace one, was carried to follow the bigger idol. The procession then came back the same way to the Moti Talao where the Ganapatis were immersed. The people, including women and children, crowded the whole road and banks of the tank.

So was *Narlipurnima* mentioned in the Diary when "Most of the day" he "spent in reading and cogitation. ... Went to the coconut throwing ceremony for a short time."[74] There were other festivals like the *nag panchami, Gokul ashtami, dasara, divali, shimga* and various others. The *shimga* was celebrated throughout the State for a week and the people

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71. *Western India Notes,* IX, No. 3, April 1928, pp. 16-17.
72. *Vividh Vritta,* July 1936, Article written by Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar.
73. *Diary,* September 2, 1924.
74. *Ibid.*, August 14, 1924.

went, in some cases, beating drums to the temple of Patekar in the Palace. The festivities were accompanied by holidays either short or long. The Ganapati festival as well as the others were celebrated by all the subjects.

The Raja also went to the Muharum celebration to Kazi's *pir*[75] and "we all went to the town *chavdi* and witnessed the Muharum procession."[76] He was present in the police headquarters to watch all the *tabuts* go by with their festive decoration. They were then washed off in the Moti Talao. The State band was sent to Roman Catholic festivals to join the religious procession and play at the beginning and at the end of the religious ceremonies. Holidays were given to celebrate many of the Muslim and Christian festivals. Khem Raj even went to Milagres Church, that is the Church of Our Lady of Miracles, to be present at the Roman Catholic mass on certain occasions.

One of the striking attachments he had was for Satam Maharaj of Danoli. He called him Guru Maharaj and went to his *darshan time and* again from 1923.[77] He had his devotion to Gadge Boa also[78] but it was strange to see his devotion to Guru Maharaj. Just before the occasion of the devolution of his State political powers, the Administrator complained that Guru Maharaj had obstructed the lorry, which was arriving from Belgaum, at Danoli.[79] Then the Rajesaheb sent two officials to Danoli to discuss certain questions with the Guru Maharaj.[80] On coming back from Danoli, Guru Maharaj motored to the Palace in front of Khem Sawant V's car.[81] The next morning, he went to Danoli to Guru Maharaja's darshan.[82] Such incidents were numerous till Satam Maharaj died by the end of March 1937.[83]

But Khem Sawant V is rightly remembered for his devotion to Hindu religion and philosophy, his piety and tolerance of religions of all kinds and

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75. *Ibid.*, August 11, 1924.
76. *Ibid.*, August 12, 1924.
77. *Ibid.*, January 4, 1923.
78. *Ibid.*, February 21, 1923.
79. *Ibid.*, October 10, 1924.
80. *Ibid.*, October 11, 1924.
81. *Ibid.*, November 4, 1924.
82. *Ibid.*, November 5, 1924.
83. *Vainateya*, Year 13, No. 22, March 30, 1937, p. 5.

his love for all his subjects. The people should all remember that they are children of the Almighty, he said, and should live with unity and amity.[84]

Hunting the tigers

Bapusaheb, as those who were intimate with him called him, spent his spare time in hunting wild game and birds. Whenever he went to Dhar, he went on a wild duck shooting, deer hunting and *shikar* or hunting of wild animals. He had also the forests of Belgaum and of Karnataka for his accurate hunting of wild game. The most important forests, which gave tremendous scope to his hunting of wild life, were the home ones in Sawantwadi. He was supposed to destroy the wild animals, which created a menace to farmers and other citizens.

There were the thick jungles of Amboli in which there were spots where the routes of wild animals crossed. The jungles abounded in large game - tigers, panthers, bison, bears, pigs, and deer.[85] The *machans*, or hidden lofts on trees, were built with branches camouflaging them from sight. When a tiger or cheetah was reported in the jungle, a goat was tied as a bait on the cross roads facing the *machan*. The *hunters occupied the machans, sometimes two or three,* at usually the evening. The rest was a time of patient waiting with no noise to be made. If and when the tiger or cheetah came and assaulted the animal bait, then the torchlight was lit and the predetermined man took a shot. When Khem Sawant V or his wife, Parvatidevi, were the shooters or someone as skillful in hunting, or when the first shot was missed and the second one got the prey, the *shikar* party got down and measured the hunt. If the prey escaped with injury, it was the duty of the hunter to track it down and finish it. Dr. and Mrs. Goheen were invited for shikars more than once. But never a panther came while they were there, though the monkeys on nearby trees often chattered as if they had seen one.[86]

At times, it was necessary to drive a tiger from its lair by a gang of people carrying tom toms, bugles or drums and making a loud noise. The roused tiger walked slowly along the path till it came to the spot where the *machan* was constructed and was fired upon. There could be a tiger on

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84. *SSR / R 14 / SDG, 1924-25,* Vol. XXXVI, No. 33, Extraordinary, October 29, 1924, pp. 161-62.
85. Robert H.H. Goheen, "Sawantwadi: A Maratha State", in *Western India Notes,* Vol. IX, No. 3, April 1928, p. 16.
86. *Ibid.*

the way as the hunter was traveling in a car when it was finished with a shot.

Khem Sawant and his wife Parvatidevi, referred to as B. throughout the *Diaries*, had early tea and then set out for a panther Hiranyakeshi way with Patankar and Jackie. The beast had killed a calf the previous night. Jackie got down from the machan in the middle. About 10 minutes later, i.e., 6.30 p.m., the beast came in the open fields and after watching it for some time, Khem Sawant fired and killed it.[87] While going to Amboli in the evening, they had shot at a panther. So in the morning the next day they went out early for it and found him dead.[88] Khem Sawant got news of a natural kill by a tiger at Narayangad. He had killed three cattle early in the morning. He and Parvatidevi motored out there in the evening. The beast came out after sunset and as previously arranged, he fired first and got him in the head. It measured 8 feet 8 inches long but it had an enormous head.[89]

There were hunts of panthers in the jungle around Sawantwadi also. There was once a panther, which walked at dead of night through a deserted street in the market at Sawantwadi and ultimately perched in front of a cowshed, but was unable to get in. The landlord shot the panther.[90] There were hunts of wild boar in the forests by ordinary citizens, which were allowed. But the killing of huge bisons, which roamed the jungle in herds at Amboli, the stags, and deer herds, which crossed the forest, the bears that stalked through the jungle, were done by the Raja. He was also fond of hunting wild fowls and birds.

The hunt was usually reserved for important persons who visited the State as honoured guests. It was usual to keep a tiger in reserve for the Governor when he was about to visit the State. The Raja and Rani had a long list of tigers and panthers they had shot. It was a privilege of some people to be invited by the princely family to a hunt.

Budgetary arrangements for various reforms

When he took over the administration, the income of the State was found to be too little to afford any scope for the reforms he intended to introduce in the various spheres. The reforms were required in agriculture,

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87. *Diary,* February 20, 1923.
88. *Ibid.,* October 17 and 18, 1924.
89. *Ibid.,* April 27, 1927.
90. The incident occurred in about 1940 when the author was studying in Sawantwadi.

horticulture, and eradication of malaria, health administration, the spread of education and games and industries. The income was barely 6.25 lakhs and there were the demands of remission from the agricultural sector in the years of bad harvests. There was a temporary creation of a malaria department but there was need for a permanent one to cater to the needs pointed out by medical reports and the scientific pursuit of remedial measures in the environment and the people. The people were victims of the epidemics, which spread among them and the measures to check the diseases were an absolute necessity. More than ninety-four per cent of the population was illiterate and many schools, teachers, blackboards, books and slates were needed. The games wanted the equipment like bats, balls and stumps for at least the boys who went to the high schools. And some alternative trade was to be found to keep the farmers being profitably busy during their spare time.

Contrary to the spendthrift habit of most of the remaining five hundred or so of the Maharajas, Rajas and Princes of his times, Khem Sawant V decided to limit his State salary to Rupees Two thousand per month which was years later increased to Rupees Two thousand and five hundred.[91] This was in effect a five per cent of the budgetary annual income of the State. He reduced his income by ten per cent when he introduced a five per cent cut on the salaries of the State staff who received more than Rupees Fifty per month.[92] He made the department of malaria permanent with the Malaria Medical Officer and his staff to do their work under the direct supervision of himself. He had a permanent building constructed to house the department. The spread of education required a much larger amount to be invested than the 12 per cent of the budget, which was spent on it every year.[93] Khem Sawant V levied octroi and license fee on tobacco for creating funds for the spread of education.[94] The Hindu Devasthans came under the Devasthan Act of the State and came under the control of the State. After the Grampanchayat Act was adopted by the State, the Devasthan Act was amended. And the Devasthan committees were given the option of spending the annual balance of its income on public activities.[95] The Devasthans, which were

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91. *Navajivan,* April 1927, Article written by Mahadevbhai Desai about Sawantwadi.
92. M.N. Vaidya, *op. cit.,* pp. 112-113.
93. *Ibid.,* p. 117.
94. *Ibid.,* p. 113.
95. *Ibid.,* p. 105.

so far reluctant to provide the place for a school, were now coming forward to invest money for education.

Agriculture and horticulture

Apart from the remission of about Rs. 79,000, which he had granted to the landlord and tenant in 1925,[96] he started some reforms in granting the *sheri*, that is, Crown lands, to the tenants. In times before, it was the practice of some people of taking large *sheri thikans* on rent and of re-renting them to smaller tenants who were the actual farmers. Giving the sheri thikan to actual cultivators changed this practice.[97]The return to the Raja was to be two-thirds of the income and so did the Revenue Settlement Commissioner agree it. But because of petitions by the farmers, the share of the Raja was reduced and it was the policy to regard the share of the landlord to be one-third.[98]

Khem Sawant V persuaded an agricultural graduate, V.S. Phatarpekar, who was running a modern farm in Belgaum, to take up the responsibility of Agricultural Advisor to the State. He advised the farmers to adopt modern means of agriculture, to use *khatache mith,* that is, denatured salt for rice land, coconut and mangoes in given proportions.[99] He advised them on how and when the land should be tilled for rice, coconut and mango and how denatured salt should be laid and filled up.[100]

He advised them also that there was an agricultural training institute near Belgaum, which they could join for a nominal fee. They could learn about the *moat rahat*, that is, the water lift with the use of bullocks, oil engines, metal ploughs, and artificial and other manures. They could get the information about vegetables and grafted fruit trees in the institute.[101] The farmers were informed of the experience of the Agricultural Department, Mumbai, that it was very useful to use denatured salt as manure. It was announced that peasants from Sawantwadi could get it at Vengurla or Shiroda at annas 13 a maund.[102]

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96. *Ibid.*, p. 96.
97. *Ibid.*, p. 100.
98. *Ibid.*, p. 99.
99. *SSR / R 8 / SDG 1932-33,* Vol. XLIV, No. 35, March 22, 1933, p. 202.
100. *SSR / R 9 / SDG 1935-36,* February 1, 1936, p. 109.
101. *SSR / R 14 / SDG 1924-25,* Vol. XXXVI, No. 42, December 31, 1924, p. 205.
102. *SSR / R 14 / SDG 1925-26,* Vol. XXXVII, No. 1, April 1, 1925, p. 1.

In 1925, it was decided to send five young men to Phatarpekar's Farm to take education of agriculture by Khem Sawant V. The students would be provided with free accommodation and would be given Rs. 9 per month.[103]

It was possible to make some extra money during leisure by learning weaving. Some cultivators were provided with training facility at Kumbler in Deshpande's handloom factory. Arrangement was made for a trained person to get the loom and the required yarn.[104]

A law to loan from the government for making improvement in agriculture, for any work connected with agriculture and to give any encouragement to domestic industries was made under Sawantwadi Law No. 3 of 1928, which received the assent of Khem Sawant V on May 2, 1928.[105] Cooperative Societies Act VII of 1925 was made applicable to the State and, in 1936, there were five Agricultural Credit societies in existence.[106]

Attempts were made to introduce new varieties of rice seeds to supplement the traditional ones. And so was horticultural production increased by encouraging the plantation of coconut and grafted mango trees. A variety of new fruits were tried and the help of Dr. Cheema, the Horticultural Advisor to the Government of Bombay Province, was taken. But these were found to be unsuitable to the Sate climate and soil.

Attempts to raise literacy among the peasantry

In 1924-25, there were in all 154 schools in the State teaching 11,618 students.[107] There were 5,561 of them from among the Mahrattas who were about eighty-five per cent of the population of the State. That is, only about 3 per cent of them went to school. There were two high schools, which were recognized by the University of Bombay, and there were 618 students attending them. Only 157 of them were Mahrattas.[108] The Brahmins, on the whole, did much better. Their number was 1,915 in the schools as a whole and 332 among the children in the high schools.[109]

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103. *Ibid.,* Vol. XXXVII, No. 5, April 22, 1925, p. 17.
104. *Ibid.,* Vol. XXXVII, No. 33, November 4, 1925, p. 178.
105. *SSR / R 7 / F 6 / SDG 1927-28,* Vol. XXXIX, No.43, May 23, 1927, pp. 264-267.
106. *SSR/R 9/SDG, 1936-37,* Vol. L, No. 3, September 1, 1936, p. 6.
107. *ARSS, 1924-25,* pp. 34-35.
108. *Ibid.*
109. *Ibid.*

The main problem was how to get the majority of the Mahrattas to send their children to schools.

The figures of literacy in the Sawantwadi State, which were 6 per cent, did not compare badly with figures of Kolhapur, which were 5 per cent, Southern Maharashtra States which had 4 per cent and Janjira and Deccan, which had only 3 per cent.[110] But the reluctance of the vast majority of the population to send their children to school was the main hurdle. It called for a major effort to provide for schools to a widely scattered population in the large villages, which lived in small settlements removed from each other by long distances.

While addressing the third conference of the Sawantwadi Mahratta Education Society, Khem Sawant V analyzed the situation of the Mahratta class and encouraged the efforts that were necessary for them to come to the standards of the Brahmin community. He said he was willing to give aid of Rs. 1,000 to enable the building of hostel for the Mahratta and backward classes.[111] The British Government free primary education and free books and slates gave the children of the pensioners who had fought during World War I. They were given free education and scholarships if they attended English schools even up to matriculation.[112]

Khem Sawant V announced by Huzur Order of June 19, 1928 that the existing condition of education in the Sawantwadi State should be reviewed with a view to its improvement. He appointed a Committee with learned persons like R.V.Parulekar, S.R.Tawde and G.M.Jadhav and others to suggest means for improvement in (1) agricultural and vocational education, (2) establishment of large hostels or boarding houses and running them on the lines of English Public Schools, (3) education of girls, (4) adult education in the villages, (5) introduction on a large scale of the shift system and (6) training classes for vernacular teachers. The Committee was to suggest sources to meet the cost.[113]

The report was submitted, the State system of education was reformed and arrangement was made, as mentioned earlier, to provide a separate budget of education with octroi and license on tobacco to be

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110. *Vainateya*, Year 1, No. 23, March 31, 1925, p. 2.
111. *Ibid.*, Year 1, No. 19, March 17, 1925, p. 2.
112. *Ibid.*, Year 4, No. 17, February 21, 1928, p. 5.
113. *SSR / R 7 / F 6 / SDG 1927-28,* Vol. XXXIX, No. 48, June 27, 1928, p. 296 and *Vainateya,* Year 4, No. 36, July 3, 1928, p. 5.

used as taxes for education in addition to the 10 per cent of the State budget to be spent as usual.[114]

Khem Sawant V spent much of his time on the primary and secondary education of the people. The numerous entries in his diary show the tremendous efforts he put in not only in increasing the number of the State and aided schools but also the quality of teaching that was imparted in them. It was his habit to attend all the schools and watch the teaching while in progress. He had the answer books of students of the higher classes to be sent to him and examined them critically. He did not approve of the system of learning by rote and disapproved the lack of knowledge of grammar and vocabulary among the students and their inability to say even a few words in correct English. He knew that much of the success in examinations depended upon memorizing.[115] He was also dissatisfied with the low standards of the textbooks, which were sanctioned for the State. While discussing the English textbooks, he said that they contained much too much of poetry which was also of the kind which could not appeal to Indian boys. The masters of the English standards at Banda and Madura schools were also complaining of the unsuitability of the textbooks.[116] The only answers he could find for these problems were improving the quality of teachers. When he found that not all the teachers could be sent for education, he tried to get them to attend classes in the vacation, which he arranged to be conducted by the trained teachers in the schools. He knew the level of education that was available in the State and followed the difficult way he had to pursue.

Khem Sawant V wanted the personality of the students to improve by giving them a lot of activities, which they were lacking. He tried to have the games like cricket popularized among the students. There were also the athletic sports, which were held annually among the schools in Sawantwadi.[117] He went to the Scout Masters Camp at Amboli, which was being conducted by an organizer sent down by the Bombay Provincial Boy Scouts Council to train school teachers in the State.[118] Khem Sawant V drafted the constitution of Sawantwadi Boy Scouts Association and done senior teachers next year approve it.[119] He discussed with the Diwan,

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114. M.N. Vaidya, *op. cit.*, p. 113.
115. *Diary*, November 18, 1925; March 21, 1929; June 8, 1929; June 9, 1929; April 5, 1930 etc.
116. *Ibid.*, January 11, 1930.
117. *Ibid.*, November 15, 1925.
118. *Ibid.*, May 9, 1933.
119. *Ibid.*, July 18 and 22, 1934.

Head Master of the Sawantwadi High School and Pai, a gymkhana teacher who had been sent to Baroda for training, a scheme under which every boy was to receive one and a half hours of training a week.[120]

Khem Sawant V was very keenly interested in starting the first school to be run on the English Public School lines. He desired to have a decent boarding school to be started on these lines at Pandit's school at Panchgani and tried to get the support of various people and administrators like the Maharaja Sayajirao Gaekwad of Baroda. He wanted to arrange for the prefect system and their general discipline.[121] He desired to apply certain permanent features of it to existing high schools of India.[122] After he interviewed M.V. Pandit of the Panchgani Hindu High School, they planned an estimate for the proposed building for school and boarding houses on a new plot, which was to be purchased by him if the Pandit brothers agreed to the constitution, which he was going to propose. Khem Sawant V's intention was to bring about a really good residential school, which ran on the lines of the English Public School. He tried to enlist the support of Maharaja Sayajirao of Baroda and the other Maharashtrian Princes and Chiefs for providing funds and a suitable constitution to direct and control the affairs of the schools.[123] Khem Sawant discussed the subject with Sayajirao and was asked to send the details.[124] But then the Civil Disobedience Movement and later on the general economic depression came in the way.[125]

In reply to a questionnaire issued by the Indian Sandhurst Committee for Ruling Princes and Chiefs and leading men of Indian States, he said that the only institution open to the public was the Royal Indian Military College at Dehra Dun. But the cost of training there was prohibitive and created a great difficulty for prospective students. Schools based on lines of the schools such as Eton, Harrow, Winchester, Malvern etc., from which English army officers were almost invariably drawn should be established in various parts of India. But it would be essential that the fees at such schools should not be more than those of Arts colleges. Since

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120. *Ibid.*, January 20, 1931.
121. *Ibid.*, December 10, 1929.
122. *Ibid.*, March 3, 1930.
123. *Ibid.*, March 4, 1930.
124. *Ibid.*, April 1, 1931.
125. *Ibid.*, April 12, 1933.

the fees would not be sufficient, the Imperial Government should provide the extra expenditure.[126]

Khem Sawant V never avoided an important point, which he wanted to be impressed upon the educated young men. While addressing the Catholic members of the Sawantwadi Clubs in Mumbai, he felt from the address that had been delivered to him that they were thinking of physical labour as demeaning for an educated man. He wanted young people to take education on a larger scale. But education should not mean that an educated person should consider physical labour as low but, on the contrary, they should use education for improving the method of doing their work. The young graduates should remember that they should not hanker after sedentary jobs in offices but should improve the hard agricultural work in which the Catholics of the State were famous.[127]

Games and entertainment

When the Raja did his work for the day, he had to play a game, either outdoor or indoor, according to the time of the year. He usually went to the Jamnabai Pavilion, a gift of the Maharani of Baroda when visiting an earlier Sardesai who was her son-in-law, to play his favourite game of cricket. He played in local teams and also against teams from Mumbai or Belgaum and, when he was travelling, against any other team. He was a good tennis player and was praised by the Governor of Bombay, Sir Leslie Wilson, when he visited Sawantwadi in 1928. He had met him, he said, a number of times on cricket ground, on the tennis court and while hunting. He was very happy to meet the Raja Saheb since he knew very well the all round player he was.[128] Khem Sawant V had lunch with Motiram in Mumbai who had also invited C.K. Naidu and Amarnath.[129] He played in tennis tournaments in Sawantwadi.[130] He went to Wimbledon to play tennis in the afternoon when he was at Selston and to the Australia versus Germany matches in 1936.[131]

He used to play golf, and did round in 87, "a record for me", he says.[132] He also played billiards and badminton in the hall near the Palace

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126. *SSR / R 54 / F. No.E-1, Establishment of an Indian Sandhurst, 1925-27*, p. 2.
127. *Vainateya,* Year 1, No. 8, December 16, 1924, p. 3.
128. *Ibid.,* Year 4, No. 3, November 15, 1928, p. 2.
129. *Diary,* December 8, 1935.
130. *Ibid.,* April 8, 1925.
131. *Ibid.,* June 25 and July 20, 1936.
132. *Ibid.,* January 2, 1922.

so also bridge after dinner. He had even started rugby where important people used to play. The game was played in the rains and uniforms had been provided for the players. There were cauldrons of hot water on the ground and the players used to bathe after the rough games in which the Raja Saheb participated. When the tea was served, Khem Sawant V permitted those who wanted to smoke to do so and offered his car to reach the players at home.[133] He was also a fine hockey player but played the game in Belgaum, as the people of Sawantwadi did not play the game. He believed that it was necessary to play a game every day and that it was imperative to give enough time to playing as for work.

Malaria and health

Khem Sawant V began working on the measures to prevent malaria in the State, which had been exercising the administration for a number of years. The very second entry of the Diary, which started in 1922, mentioned the reading of *Prevention of Malaria.*[134] And two days later, he dictated during the day a note regarding malaria, which he continued during the next day.[135] Then on arriving at Belgaum, he worked at malaria for a day and talked over with his personal assistant about his proposals for anti-malarial work.[136] On January 22, he motored to Sawantwadi and addressed a meeting of the public regarding malaria in the High School. After the meeting, he discovered Anopheline larvae in the tank and on the next day before breakfast and after, he worked chiefly on malaria.[137] Such entries one finds in the Diary throughout till 1937.

In his reply to the address by his Catholic subjects in Mumbai, Khem Sawant V said that the one big question before the State was malaria. It had undermined a large part of the State and had weakened the resistance power of the people. He said that the prevalence of the fever was responsible in a large extent for migration of the villagers to Mumbai and Karachi.[138] He took, as Dr. Goheen wrote in *Western India Notes*, "particular interest in the problems of malarial eradication, himself examining hundreds of school children to determine the spleen indices in many of the villages. ... Moreover a Government medical officer was employed to

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133. *Vainateya,* Year 13, No. 42, August 24, 1937, p. 2.
134. *Diary,* January 2, 1922.
135. *Ibid.,* January 4 and 5, 1922.
136. *Ibid.,* January 11 and 12, 1922.
137. *Ibid.,* January 22, 23 and 24, 1922.
138. *Vainateya* Year 1, No. 8, December 16, 1924.

make a malarial survey of the State several years ago. The town of Sawantwadi lies among the hills and surrounds what was ... a beautiful lake but is now only mud flats. Colonel Strickland ... recommended emptying the lake to save the town from malaria. This was promptly done and the disease abated."[139]

Khem Sawant V was also responsible for getting the financial assistance and expert aid of the Rockefeller Foundation for malarial eradication till it was discontinued because of the Great Depression in 1934.[140] A.R. Dalal, who was the Bombay Municipal Commissioner, referred to "the physical difficulties which a comparatively small Indian State like Savantwadi was faced with and which under the able guidance of its enlightened Ruler it had overcome and was overcoming with conspicuous success."[141]

Limited election of municipal committee

The Sawantwadi Town Vahiwat Act, 1904, according to which the Municipal affairs were to be managed by official and non-official members, remained in force. But both classes of members were nominated by the State. In 1930, the Shyahar Vyavastha Mandal Act, as it was known in Marathi, was amended to provide for election of the members to the Municipality. But the right to vote was given to only a small percentage of people by raising their eligibility by difficult tests. Thirty or forty voters made up the constituency of a ward. But the voting had arrived and it was difficult to get candidates for the election.[142]

In the beginning the President of the Municipality was nominated by the Government. The first President was Kazi Abdul Razak who had been the inspector in the Crawford Market in Mumbai. The right of electing the President was given to the members later on, the right of voting was expanded and the eligibility of the candidates was made liberal. But the number of voters in a constituency was within fifty in 1940.[143]

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139. R.H.H. Goheen, "Sawantwadi: A Maratha State", *Western India Notes*, Vol. IX, No.3, April, 1928, p. 16.

140. M. N. Vaidya, *op. cit.*, pp. 107-108.

141. *Times of India*, July 20, 1929.

142. Shirodkar, M.D., "Sawantwadi Nagarpalikechi Chalis Varshantil Vatchal." in *Sawantwadi Nagarpalika Smaranika 1971.*, pages not given, Sawantwadi, 1971. He was the founder and editor of *Vainateya*.

143. *Ibid.*

Administration and Judiciary

Khem Sawant V had a very close supervision of the various other departments of the State. It was his regular work to interview the two Administrators and heads of other departments at least every month and more often whenever it was required. He was busy with the shortcomings of the administration and continued his various reforms whenever it was possible to do so. He was so seriously concerned with the Forest Department that he knew the numerous coups in the State. He took keen interest in cutting down the trees and selling them to *various customers* like the railways and private persons and companies. He also evinced an interest in the plantations of various trees like teak and trying out new plantations of eucalyptus and sandal wood trees. He did not remove any officer who had been doing his work according to his ability, but brought in retired officers from the British government for their advice. Bell, who was appointed the State Adviser to the Forest Department, was a person who had retired as the Chief Conservator of Forests of the Bombay Province. Khem Sawant V got the New Working Plan of the Forest prepared by him and some other important recommendations for improving the income from the forest.

Khem Sawant V showed enough interest in the numerous devasthans, which were scattered in the villages of the State. There were settlements in the villages around the temples of *devdasis* or women dedicated to the gods who did the job of prostitution for a living. When it was socially realized that this undignified and inhuman system should be stopped, Khem Sawant V passed the Prevention of Devdasi Act on August 6, 1931. It was made an offence to commit a woman to this profession and the women who had been in the profession were allowed to marry. It was also prohibited to kill any animal on the premises of the temple for sacrificial purposes.

Khem Sawant V had to sit in the final appellate court in various cases. He had to study the law for this purpose and we find him engaged in this enterprise for a number of months. Of a final appeal in the case of a murder, we have the evidence of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar who had been engaged as a lawyer. Dr. Ambedkar says in a newspaper article that he found the Rajesaheb attending the court punctually, saying his prayers silently with his eyes closed quite regularly. He listened to the arguments very carefully and his judgment was full of learning according to him.

Dealings with Imperial Power

While maintaining that the sanctity of treaties with Indian Princes was a cardinal article of Imperial policy, the British Imperial Power gave assent to the establishment of a Chamber of Princes or Narendra Mandal on December 23, 1919. The Emperor George V issued the Royal Proclamation on February 8, 1921. The Viceroy, the Duke of Connaught, in his address on February 8, 1921 to the Princes said that the main function of the Chamber of Princes was to discuss matters affecting the States generally or of common concern to the Sates and British India or the Empire at large. ... It represented recognition of the right of Princes to be consulted in framing the policy of Government relating to the States. The Chamber was to be a deliberative, consultative and advisory, but not an executive, body.[144] Khem Sawant V, as a member of this body,[145] attended the informal meeting of Princes, went to Viceregal Lodge to attend the reception on arrival of the Prince and then went to state banquet at Viceregal Lodge in February 1922.[146] On February 16, he went to the Darbar in the Fort. After Darbar, the Government of India gave a garden party in the Fort Gardens and Diwan-i-Khas. Later, these gardens and camp were illuminated and says Khem Sawant V, these illuminations were quite good.[147] Later he went to military garden party at Fort and there was a musical ride by British Cavalry, dressed in uniforms of old, which he found was a very good show.[148] He attended the informal meeting of Princes and returned to Dhar after meeting the top government officials and Maharajas.[149]

He went over to Khadki, Pune and Mumbai when the State business invited him. Whenever he had to visit the Viceroy or to attend the session of the Chamber of Princes, he went to Delhi. He used to go to Mumbai, Pune and to the various State capitals for official as well as private business. He had to attend functions and dinners given by the Viceroy, the Governor of Bombay and the Rulers of Indian States. He had been a teetotaler ever since he went to England because of a promise he had given to Moxon. When he could not live without a drink in the cold

144. *SSR / R 54 / Chamber of Princes, 1919-1924*, p. 262 R.
145. *The Bombay Government Gazette*, February 17, 1921, p. 375.
146. *Diary,* February 13, 14 and 15, 1922.
147. *Ibid.,* February 16, 1922.
148. *Ibid.,* February 18, 1922.
149. *Ibid.,* February 19, 21 and 22, 1922.

climate of the desert he had been posted in, he wrote to Moxon and he was allowed to drink whisky. But he had given it up as he was out of Mesopotamia. He had the practice of not drinking even the toast with an intoxicant drink.

When he was at home or at Belgaum, he worked at the Treaty notes during the day and also well into the night.[150] In his confidential letter to Ganga Singh, Maharaja of Bikaner and Chancellor, Chamber of Princes, he thought that the reorganization of the Indian State Forces was urgent and important. Every State has armed police or troops for the maintenance of internal order. He therefore felt that the meeting should recommend that the Government of India should empower the officer in charge to arrange with Darbars for the replacement of the existing weapons by .303" rifles and to discuss with them further requirements for the rearmament of the police with reference to their internal security schemes. In the case of Sawantwadi, he stated, having a force of nearly 200 men, far from replacing all the weapons, they had been allotted only 30 rifles.[151] Khem Sawant V could not speak on this proposal when he made a speech condoling the death of the Maharaja of Dhar in the Chamber of Princes in 1926.[152] When he asked for the consideration of the question of the reorganization and rearmament of State forces from the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes in 1928, he was informed that a Maharaja and some officials were discussing the matter.[153] He attended the Chamber of Princes meeting in March 1932 and was present at the banquet given by Lord Willingdon, the Viceroy and Governor General and was invited for lunch by the Viceroy and the Countess of Willingdon on March 27, 1932 but his proposal regarding the reorganization and rearmament of State forces had not been considered.[154]

In 1932, the Political Agent, Sawantwadi, received a note from Sawantwadi about the denial of the title of Raja as denoting sovereignty to the Ruler of Sawantwadi State. It mentioned the Mughal Firman of 1784 bestowing the title of "Raja" and the insignia of royalty, the Morchel or peacock feathers and the necessary Khilat, a letter from Mahadaji Scindia,

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150. *Ibid.*, March 3, 1923.
151. *SSR / R 54 / Chamber of Princes, 1925*, Confidential letter of August 24, 1925 from the Sardesai of Sawantwadi to the Chancellor, Chamber of Princes, pp. 1-3.
152. *SSR / R 54 / Chamber of Princes, 1926.*
153. *SSR / R 54 / Chamber of Princes, 1929*, letter of January 30, 1929 from Bhupinder Singh, Maharaja of Patiala, Chancellor, Chamber of Princes to Khem Sawant V.
154. *SSR / R 54 / Chamber of Princes, 1932.*

then the Deputy of the Mughal Emperor at Delhi. The British Government in the treaty of 1812 styled Fond Sawant as "Raja Fond Sawant Bhonsle Sar Desai of Kudal, and its dependencies." He had not only been so styled in the subsequent treaty of 1819 but Article 6 of the said treaty further laid down expressly that "the Raja and his heirs and successors shall remain absolute rulers of the country". In the next treaty of 1820 and the agreement of 1832, the practice of styling the ruler as Raja had been invariably followed as also in all the Kharitas and subsequent documents until the year 1836. In that year, the Collector of Ratnagiri omitted the title of Raja. When the Raja reported the matter to the Government of Bombay, they ruled that there was a great distinction between "Rajey" used as a title and "Rajah" as denoting an independent prince such as the Rajas of Satara and Kolhapur.[155]

In reply to this representation, the officers of the Secretariat were informed that the Viceroy and Governor General had agreed that the Ruler of Sawantwadi should in the future be styled "Raja of Sawantwadi" instead of "Sardesai of Sawantwadi".[156] It was announced in the Durbari Gazette that the Viceroy and Governor General had agreed that the title of "Raja of Sawantwadi" should be used.[157]

On April 1, 1933, Sawantwadi State was brought into direct political relations with the Government of India. The State would be in direct relation with the Agent to the Governor General, Deccan States Agency and the Resident at Kolhapur was to be the State's only channel of communication with the Government of India.[158] This was an important change from the Government of Bombay to the Government of India in accordance with the recommendations made in the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms Scheme through the Agent to the Governor General for the Deccan States.[159]

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155. *SSR / R 56 / MSC-H.A. / T-7 / Title "Raja" - denial of - as denoting Sovereignty*, P-31 of September 10, 1932 to Political Agent Sawantwadi, Belgaum, from Shirgaonkar, Diwan, Sawantwadi.

156. *Ibid.*, 9303-A of November 25, 1932, Memorandum from Chief Secretary to the Government of Bombay.

157. *SSR / R 8 / SDG, 1932-33,*, Vol. XLIV, No. 35, March 22, 1933, p. 201. Letter No. 4278 of March 22, 1933.

158. *SSR / R 48 / F.E-8 Vol. II, 819, Direct Political Relation with Government of India and the States*, Political Agent, Sawantwadi, to Diwan, E.C.8 of March 23, 1933.

159. *ARSS, 1932-1933*, p. 4.

Later in the same year, Khem Sawant V received a wire intimating his promotion to a Major[160]and the rank of Honorary Major had been published in the London Gazette.[161] And it was announced in an extraordinary budget that the Rajasaheb had received the title of K.C.S.I. from the Emperor.[162] There is only a mention in the Diary of K.C.S.I. being conferred on him.[163] The presentation of an address by the Sawantwadi town citizens on his K.C.S.I. which was enclosed in a beautiful casket was received by him with the kindness with which it was presented, although, he said in the privacy of his Diary, that they should not have wasted their money on that.[164]

Khem Sawant V was in London in 1936 during the funeral of Emperor George V. He went to Buckingham Palace and the new King Edward VIII shook hands with them all.[165] On the next day, he went over to Westminster Hall. He was walking in a procession and was not able to see the whole set. There was a big gathering of foreign Kings, heads of States and representatives of absolutely the weak countries in the world were represented.[166]

He had not been invested with the K.C.S.I. till 1936 although he received the honour in June 1934. He was suffering from the flu and could not go to Delhi to receive it there when the honour was being conferred. He went to Buckingham Palace on April 23, 1936 and had an audience of Edward VIII. He invested him with the insignia of the K.C.S.I. and afterwards talked with him about a variety of subjects.[167] He also had an interview with the Secretary of State for India, the Marquess of Zetland.[168] He came to know of the abdication of King Edward in Kolhapur and that the Duke of York was to succeed.[169]

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160. *Diary,* August 22, 1933.
161. *SSR / R 8 / SDG, 1933-34,* Vol. XLV, No. 4, August 23, 1933, p. 14.
162. *Ibid.,* Vol. XLV, No. 47, June 4, 1934.
163. *Diary,* June 4, 1934.
164. *Ibid.,* June 24, 1934.
165. *Ibid.,* January 27, 1936.
166. *Ibid.,* January 28, 1936.
167. *Ibid.,* April 22 and 23, 1936. *ARSS, 1935-1936,* pp. 3-4.
168. *ARSS, 1935-1936,* pp. 3-4.
169. *Diary,* December 11, 1936.

Second tour of Europe

He had consulted doctors in Mumbai for his wife's illness and he was advised that if there was no appreciable improvement in her condition in a few days, he should take her to Europe at once.[170] It was definitely decided on December 8, 1935 to take his wife to Vienna for an expert medical treatment as the doctors were not having any success in India and her condition was weakening with her daily pains.[171] He booked the passages for the whole family and was sailing on December 19, 1935[172] and he announced that he had appointed an Executive Council to carry on the administration during his absence.[173] The title of the Gazette had been changed on August 1, 1934 and it was to be in four parts.[174] Rani Parvatidevi had two operations in Vienna and she was recuperating.[175]

Khem Sawant V went over to the Plastic and Industrial Art Collection and the Egyptian Antiquities Collection of the Art History Museum in Vienna, which was housed in a palatial building beautifully decorated inside.[176] He went to an opera, which he found to be a great performance,[177] and had already taken Dr. and Mrs. Weisak to 'Domes Maeskersenters', a long opera by Wagner.[178] Khem Sawant V went to Marseilles to leave for India[179] and landed at Mumbai on September 3, 1936.[180]

Abrupt end at forty

The Rajasaheb had a skid and crashed into a tree shortly after he left Satara. But he was lucky to escape but for a slight broken upper lip as the car was fortunately still running.[181] When the news arrived at Sawantwadi on July 4, 1937 that Bapusaheb Maharaj had expired at Pune, the people were stunned by it. It was announced that the Raja had

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170. *Ibid.*, February 14, 1935.
171. *Ibid.*, December 8, 1935.
172. *Ibid.*, December 9, 1935.
173. *SSR / R 8 / SDG*, Vol. XLVIII, No. 1, December 19, 1935, Extraordinary, p. 1.
174. *Ibid.*, Vol. XLVII, No. 1, August 1, 1934.
175. *ARSS, 1935-1936*, pp. 3-4.
176. *Diary*, February 2, 1936.
177. *Ibid.*, February 17, 1936.
178. *Ibid.*, January 1, 1936.
179. *Ibid.*, August 21, 1936.
180. *Ibid.*, September 3, 1936.
181. *Ibid.*, June 13, 1935.

fallen down at a bathing tank and had expired while he was on the operation table. His body was being brought back to Sawantwadi gymkhana the next day.[182] He had met his death in Lloyd Swimming Pool, Wanowdy near Pune, as he was trying to close a tap which was running and presumably missed a step of the ladder and fell on the stone pavement below resulting in serious injuries to his head.[183] The guns were fired forty times to announce the sad end of Bapusaheb's reign.[184]

Khem Sawant V, the Mahatma and Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar

On two occasions Mahatma Gandhi was the guest of Sawantwadi Darbar. In April 1927, the Mahatma was a guest for several days of Khem Sawant V. Mahadevbhai Desai wrote in his article in *Navajivan* that the climate of Amboli was indeed suitable for them but the memory of the company they had of the Raja of Sawantwadi was indeed equally sweet. It was not for the first time that they had an experience of the hospitality of the Princes. They had numerous incidents of getting acquainted with the life of Princes; but no one had impressed them in India more than the Bapusaheb of Sawantwadi.[185]

When they went on a round of Sawantwadi to sell khadi, they had the opportunity of meeting the bureaucracy and lawyers, and seeing the houses of the common people, the huts and of the rich. They did not get to hear anything except praise of the Raja from them during their entire stay over there. The Raja and Rani had come to see them on the evening before they left. Gandhiji said to the Raja on that occasion that Mahadev had heard many good things about him. He wanted to know about a few things Mahadev had reported. He had been told, Gandhiji said, that the Raja took from the State treasury only Rupees two thousand as his salary and defrayed the expenses of his charity from that amount. He wanted to know if that was true. Shrimant Bapusaheb said with embarrassment that he took Rupees two thousand and five hundred only from the treasury. But when Darbar was to be arranged or the meetings with the Viceroy or the Governors were to be held, or, in short, where the State expenses were involved, the money was to be debited to the State. But Gandhiji wanted to know whether the expenses of supporting the needy children and of the

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182. *SSR / R 9 / SDG, 1936-1937,* Extraordinary, Vol. LXIX, No. 3, July 4, 1937.

183. *ARSS, 1936-1937*, p. 3.

184. *Vainateya,* Year 13, No. 37, July 13, 1937, p. 5.

185. *Navajivan,* April 1927, Article written by Mahadevbhai Desai about the Raja of Sawantwadi.

Raja's spending for coming over to Amboli were made out of the money he gets as salary and Khem Sawant V replied that the expenses were made from his salary. To this, Mahatmaji said that in his experience it was the only example of a Raja who wanted to be the servant of the *praja* or subjects.[186]

Mahadevbhai Desai said that they began to experience what they had heard from the people when they traveled to Narayangad in his car. When they came across Ram temple on the way, Khem Sawant V bowed down before it. When, on the way, there came across several other temples, the Raja bowed down with humility before them. They had heard of the religiosity of the Raja. But one night, Mahadevbhai had been surprised to see Bapusaheb standing bare footed in front of a hut. He came to know that Bapusaheb was devoted to a Sadhu and he had not put on shoes because he wanted to go to his *darshan*.[187]

Bapusaheb showed Mahadevbhai and Devidas two forts, one of which was Manohargad and the other Manasantoshgad, across the Sahyadri. The book said the distance between the two was 200 yards. But, said the Raja, when he threw a stone, it fell on the Manasantoshgad He asked for the map and found the distance was 200 feet and not 200 yards. Khem Savant V pointed to a village, which had 20 houses, and he found it difficult to decide the site on which the school should be erected. The Raja had visited the 225 villages of the State.[188]

When Mahadevbhai asked him about his being a teetotaler, Khem Sawant V admitted that he did not touch liquor when he was in Europe because of a promise he had given to his English Governess. When he was in Mesopotamia, he had obtained the permission of his Governess to drink whisky. Bapusaheb had once smelt liquor in the mouth of two servants and had dismissed them from service. But he thought of the master drinking when he did not want the servants to do so; and so he gave up drinking. But when asked about the social or dinner occasions, the Raja said he does not drink then and so manages with soda or lemon.[189]

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186. *Ibid.*
187. *Ibid.*
188. *Ibid.*
189. *Ibid.*

Mahatma Gandhi had said to him, "There are splendid stations like Darjeeling; but there is an element of fear in their splendour. One feels that the places belong to God and not to people. But in your hills, friendship is overflowing. One feels affection while looking at the hills, and produces a feeling of love."[190]

And Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar had gone to Sawantwadi as the defence attorney of the accused in the famous case of murder of Varadkar, the landowner of Padve. He was arguing the defence for three days in front of Khem Sawant V who was hearing the appeal as the highest court in Sawantwadi. The Raja used to listen to the arguments between 11 a.m. and 5.30 p.m. except for a half hour break for lunch. To listen to the logic of lawyers for six hours and ask for clarifications of a critical and to the point was a rare gift of well known judges and was definitely uncommon. The judgment, which was delivered, surely showed to be first class and having the grip of all the legal points in the case.[191]

But Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar was more impressed by the religiousness of the Raja. Before starting the work, he said, Khem Sawant V joined both hands and closed his eyes and muttered a prayer to the Almighty.

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190. *Ibid.*

191. *Vividh Vritta,* July 1937, Article written by Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar.

Chapter 7

REGENCY CARRIES REFORMS FURTHER

Education, experience and ability of Ranisaheb

JULY 4, 1937 WAS A SAD DAY for Sawantwadi State when Raja Major Sir Khem Sawant Bahadur V Sardesai of Kudal and Mahalanihai had suddenly demised in the course of a few hours. He was an enlightened ruler and made a number of reforms in the administration, society and economy of the State. He had shown a great promise to the enlightened citizens of working for the upliftment of the poor people. The thirteen years he ruled had shown the paths along which the people could walk ahead towards a happier living. But suddenly the leader was missing and the people were flabbergasted to find themselves leader less in their struggle for a fuller existence.

He had left behind his ten year old son, Yuvaraj Shivramraje Bhonsle, his wife, Ranisaheb Parvatibai Bhonsle, and three daughters. The British Empire had now to decide who should rule the State in the period of minority of Raja Shivram Sawant Bahadur. The administrators of the State of Sawantwadi could think of the Regency of the Ranisaheb during his minority.

Ranisaheb Parvatibai Bhonsle was indeed a capable woman who had the education of a princess at the far famed State of Baroda. She, being the grand-daughter of Maharaja Sayajirao Gaekwad of Baroda, and whose brother was later to become the Maharaja Pratapsingh Gaekwad, had received an education which equipped her to be the wife of a ruler of a State. She had shown herself to be able to work, play and hunt with experts in these fields. She was well known as a hunter and had accompanied her husband on various *machans* in the darkness of the forest. She was an accurate shot in the thickness of the jungle and had several shikars of tigers to her credit. She was also fond of hunting other wild animals and birds. She was an excellent horse rider and would think of riding where she could not reach by car. She was also fond of sports and could beat her husband at badminton according to his admission. One incident illustrated her horsewoman ship and daring in Amboli where the royal family was vacationing in summer. A horseman was thrown off by a horse that had been bought recently by the Durbar. Ranisaheb Parvatibai

came to the riding ground as soon as she was informed, caught the horse and rode it while it rose on its hind legs and tried to throw her off. But she continued till she had the horse running and trotting and took it to the stables.[1]

She had an intimate knowledge of the reforms in various fields that were implemented by Khem Sawant V. The difficulties in implementing them were discussed by him with her. The reluctance of his people to accept certain measures came out in their personal discussions. She had cooperated in implementing the reforms. She went with her husband to village camps and interviewed people regarding their difficulties and saw with her eyes the poor condition in which they lived.

Ranisaheb Parvatibai Bhonsle appointed as Regent

According to the circumstances obtaining in the State, the State administration made a representation to the British Government that Ranisaheb Parvatibai Bhonsle might be appointed as Regent during the minority of Raja Shivram Sawant. This was in accordance with the tradition of Sawantwadi State. When Ramchandra Sawant had died in 1755, his only son, Khem Sawant Bhonsle, had not completed six years of age. His mother Janakibai assumed powers over the rulership of the State as Regent and administered it with power and prestige till 1763. When Raja Khem Sawant III had died in 1803 without leaving a male heir to the *Gadi*, Ranisaheb Laxmibai Bhonsle had become the Regent. After her death, Ranisaheb Durgabai became the Regent with Phond Sawant being the Raja. She continued as the Regent when Phond Sawant died in 1812 and set up Raja Khem Sawant IV on the *Gadi*. She proved herself to be able and spirited stateswoman in the period of confrontation with the East India Company till she died in 1819. The next Regents, the Ranisahebs Savitribai and Narmadabai, had to sign the Treaty of Subsidiary Alliance of 1919. The question did not arise in the later period when the British Government ruled the State directly till 1924.

The British Government was in a frame of mind to consider the request of the administrators favourably as it did not have to keep in mind the home country's road and harbour interests in the State of Sawantwadi that were of primary importance to them in the period before 1880. They had made up their mind on this point while they decided to give up the *de*

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1. The author was in Amboli at the time and his father, Salvador Fernandez, an officer of the State, narrated the incident the same evening. The date could have been 1930 or there about.

facto government to Raja Khem Sawant V. And they seemed to have no difficulty in accepting the Regency of Ranisaheb Parvatibai Bhonsle in this difficult period of Sawantwadi.

The Minority Administration was therefore formed and the Crown Representative appointed Rani Parvatibai Bhonsle as Regent to conduct the administration of the State during the minority of the Raja. The Regent of the Deccan States, Lieutenant Colonel E.P.C. Evans, announced in a special Durbar in Sawantwadi that Raja Shivram Sawant Bahadur had been appointed as heir to the *Gadi* of Sawantwadi and his mother Ranisaheb Parvatibai was appointed as Regent to carry out the State affairs. She was to be assisted in her work by Advisory Council consisting of the Diwan, Sarnyayadhish and Naib Diwan. The Regent, while taking the reign on October 5, 1937, declared that she would try to follow the sound and progressive lines of administration laid down by Khem Sawant V.[2]

The assistance of the Advisory Council seems to have worked with reluctance from the Regent in the first six years of her administration. There was an announcement on September 21, 1943 by the Regent of Sawantwadi State that she had interviews with Diwan and Naib Diwan in regard to some programme of discussions. And that she had agreed they would meet her once a week. Some days were fixed once a week for various departments. Important and urgent matters could be discussed on any of the days.[3]

Work for rural uplift

She had considered the policy she would implement in consultation with the important people around her. A committee of official and non-official people was then appointed to look into the question of Rural Uplift, a matter that was to receive a special importance in her career. The committee envisaged the (1) improvement in the supply of potable water in villages, (2) improvement of sanitation in villages, (3) medical relief to be made available to villages, (4) improvement of village approach roads, (5) formation of village *panchayats*, and (6) training of village *Dayees*. Rs. 2,500 were sanctioned in the current year's State budget for Rural Uplift.

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2. *Sawantwadi State Records,* (Hereafter *SSR*), */R 9/Sawantwadi Durbari Gazette,* (Hereafter *SDG*), *1937-38 Extraordinary*, Vol. 50, No. 2, October 5, 1937; *Vainateya*, Year 13, No. 49, October 12, 1937, pp. 4 and 5.
3. *SSR/R 50/ADM-28/H.H./864*, No. 1576 of September 21, 1943 from Secretary to Regent to Diwan.

Rs. 1,500 out of that amount were to be utilized for sinking wells in malarial tracts and Rs. 1,000 for general purposes.[4]

This was followed by another order signed by the Regent which said that she believed it to be very essential to do away with untouchability and to remove the disabilities the *Harijans* had to suffer. She laid down the policy of the State Government in future. *Harijan* children would be treated in the same way as the other children in the State schools and those that were aided by it. There should be no restriction on the mixing of children. The aided schools would lose their grant if they failed to behave according to the norms set down. The *Harijans* would be treated without any restriction in offices, courts, dispensaries and they would have access to employment. So long as the public was not ready, the State was not ordering the *Devasthans*, wells and *dharmashalas* to be opened to *Harijans*. But, she assured the people that she would do so when the circumstances were favourable.[5]

She said that she would start her tour of State villages during 1941 to 1947 with certain objects. Some real foundations for Rural Uplift work should be laid down while she was touring in the villages, some programmes should be arranged and institutions should be created to do the work. They should observe a Health Week in the villages, a Village Clean-out Day and a Baby Day during her visit. They should create institutions like Village *Panchayat* Society, Cooperative Society, Better Living Society, Anti-Malaria Committee, Junior Red Cross Association, Agricultural Development Society, Cooperative Marketing Society, Village Improvement Society, Grains and Seeds Depot, Village Industries Society, Cattle Improvement Society, and Village Health Improvement Society. The villagers may take the necessary help from officers concerned. The Regent said that she meant to start some societies in some villages in the State. She asked her officers to select only such villages where the people might be enthusiastic to do the work because she meant to start the societies enthusiastically. The note was sent to the Naib Diwan about three months before she would start on the tours.[6]

A programme was drawn up and sent to seven different officials of the State. There was an exhibition held during her visit to Kalsuli early in

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4. *SSR/R 9/SDG 1938-39*, Vol. 51, No. 9, December 1, 1938, pp. 37-38.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 35-36.
6. *SSR/R 33/F.ADM-HA36/*Notes on Her Highness's tours to State villages 1941-1947, signed by P. Bhonsle dated October 8, 1940.

1942 of straw hats, straw spreads, baskets of coconut palm sticks, flower pots and utensils made by the potters and things made from coconut fibre. She went on a tour to Banda also.[7]

The Regent also went on a tour to Camp Dukanwad in January 1943. Lectures were delivered by the Chief Forest Officer and Veterinary Officer. She also visited Shivapur and declared open a primary school building built locally. There were lectures by Agricultural Adviser and Educational Inspector in her presence at Dukanwad and Naib Diwan and Malaria Medical Officer at Shivapur. The *Gadkaris* and *Rawools* of Manohargad had come together and the school at Gadkari Awath was receiving the Education Department aid. The State school had been shifted to a more central place removing the cause of complaint among the people. She visited Keravde where people from Pulas and Nileli had assembled. At Keravde she inspected the Keravde Dispensary also. There were two more lectures at Dukanwad.[8]

Rani Parvatibai visited Gothos and Narur. There was a malaria centre at Gothos but no great advantage of it was taken, as it was clear from the fact that many had badly suffered from malaria. It appeared that considerable wasteland had been brought under cultivation. The State Engineer was asked through the Diwan to start work on a road in that area. There was a request for a private school there that would be dealt with by the Board of Education. There was a request for repairs to the temple and the Kamavisdar was asked to take care of it. The villagers started a kind of grain bank and they wanted to convert it into a regular cooperative society. They were asked to meet Phalnikar who would help to make suitable rules and take further steps in the matter. At Amberi, they came to know that the attendance at school was far below normal. They were told that the aided school would be stopped if the attendance did not improve.[9]

She was very keen on implementing the programmes of hygienic and healthy living in the towns of Sawantwadi, Kudal, Banda and Aronda. A number of programmes were initiated by her and implemented with social organization for carrying them out. There were Health Weeks and Clean-out Days for clearing the surroundings of garbage and shrubs, the

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7. *Ibid.*
8. *Ibid.*
9. *Ibid.*

cleaning-out of the houses and stables, the taking of anti-malaria and health measures in the water supply and the white-washing of the houses. There were the *Mahila Mandal* programmes held in a spacious hall built for them in the south corner of Sawantwadi town. Lectures and discussions were held in it with the attendance of Ranisaheb. Exhibitions were held of the beautiful embroidery and knitting works done by the women and the handicrafts and cookery produced by them. There were also social gatherings with stage performances acted or music and dance numbers performed by women. The special subjects discussed in the meetings, among other things, were the social problems of women, and ante-maternity and baby care measures to be taken. There were prize distribution programmes held for the best among all the activities. Committees of non-official and official members headed by the Ranisaheb judged the prizes.

The Rural Improvement Society had given Rs. 375 for wells in the villages of Kunkeli, Kolgaon and Bodwe and spent Rs. 650 on the roads. Three women were trained in midwifery and two were learning the course.[10]

It was announced that the Regent Ranisaheb would camp at Kasal to celebrate the Kasal Rural Welfare Week and would visit Santral, Kunde, Padave, Bambuli Budruk, Burus, Humarmala, Manal, Pokhran, Kusbe and Bordavi.[11]

The Regent visited several villages as she had done every year of her Regency. In some villages Health, Child Welfare, the production of more grain, talks by officers and other gentlemen were organized. The Rural Upliftment Programme and the Grow More Food Programme did not show much progress in spite of several attempts.[12]

Medical aid and health attention up to beginning of World War II

There was only one hospital and six dispensaries which served 2,30,589 people in the year 1935-36, according to the *State Administration Report* for the year 1935-36. The total number of people treated indoors was 535 and outdoors 55,929.[13]

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10. *Vainateya*, Year 18, No. 40, September 1, 1942, p. 3.
11. *Ibid.*, Year 19, No. 4, December 22, 1942, p. 4.
12. *SSR/R 10/SDG 1944-45*, Vol. 57, No. 2, Part 4, August 15, 1944, pp. 1-4. Report read on August 4, 1944.
13. *SSR/R 50/ADM-28/H.H./864*, Copy of note typed on Rural Medical Relief in the State; object in starting the scheme - unsigned.

Rani Parvatibai remembered that her husband, the late Khem Sawant V, was disappointed when he saw that medical relief did not reach the village doors properly. She had contacted Dr. Shiveshwarkar, who was the Assistant Director of Public Health in Belgaum, and told him of the anxiety of her husband. There was a scheme on the records that she seemed to have got drafted by Dr. Shiveshwarkar. It was on the ignorance of the epidemic diseases among the poor villagers who did not know how to prevent them. The unhealthy situation in which the villagers lived their life was not being brought to their notice. The benefit that they got from dispensaries was in the form of medicines and no attempt was made to educate them in health problems. The scheme drove at the idea that the poor and the sick in the villages, who had proved to be inaccessible in respect of health education, should get proper medical aid with the idea of how to prevent the epidemic diseases.[14]

The note suggested that groups of villages should be formed with a doctor to be allotted to each of them. His job would be to lecture to them, with the help of magic lanterns, on health problems. They would also run itinerant dispensaries. The note also suggested that they should pick up some enthusiastic teachers and should train them by making them attend the treatment of patients and hand them over the medicine boxes. They should be given an adequate knowledge of the epidemic diseases, pregnancy and child care so that they could be asked to deliver lectures on these subjects. A scheme of organizing the expenses was also given. The note was dated November 24, 1937 and although it was not signed, Dr. Shiveshwarkar most probably drafted it.[15]

A report of August 11, 1938 mentioned that once a week an ophthalmologist and a dentist had agreed to give free medical attention in the hospital. Dr. Fulton, in charge of the Mission Hospital at Vengurla, had been appointed as Honorary Surgeon and had agreed to act free. It was pointed out that a good operation theatre was necessary. The Regent Parvatibai agreed to start one out of her own pocket and it was to be named Shri Sir Pancham Khem Sawant Maharaj Operation Theatre. When it was completed, the arrangement for operations should be made.[16]

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14. *Ibid.*
15. *Ibid.*
16. *SSR/R 9 / SDG 1938-39*, Vol. 51, No. 3, Part I, September 1, 1938, pp. 10-12.

The State had handed over the sum of Rs. 10,578 to Ante-maternity Care and Baby Welfare Society that had been established. It was 70 per cent of the sum collected for it.[17]

The Regent started medical centres in different places in Sawantwadi to combat the rapid spread of malaria in 1938. Some 1300 injections were given free to the people at her own personal cost. There were 2818 people who were given free medicines. About 7000 persons were given injections. There were 3000 cases of malaria in Sawantwadi. Dr. Mhaskar, Dr. Patil, Dr. Goheen and Mrs. Goheen from Bombay and Vengurla were invited to give speeches illustrated by magic lantern. The Khem Sawant Memorial Operation Theatre was started and the Westropp Civil Hospital was equipped with modern surgical implements. Rural Medical Centres were opened in five villages.[18]

Other reform measures implemented

The Sawantwadi State Bank had opened a branch at Kudal and three new cooperative societies had been formed in the year 1938.[19]

In view of the loyalty displayed by the people of Tulas and surrounding villages, Rani Parvatibai allowed the people of Tulas, Math, Vazrath and Hodavda to collect by hand dead fallen wood from the forest. The wood had to be less than six inches in girth and for their *bona fide* domestic use. They could collect it for four months in a year, which were September to October and March to April. They were allowed further to graze their cattle in the open forest in their own villages subject to such restrictions as the Forest Officer might deem fit to impose. These concessions were granted for one year in the first instance.[20] But in October 1939, there was a Jungle Satyagraha at Tulas. The Government published the facilities that they had given to the ryots in the forests of the State. They showed the grazing and taking of firewood from the forest and gave assurance of considering other facilities.[21]

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17. *SSR/R 9 / SDG 1938-39*, Vol. 51, No. 3, Part I, September 1, 1938, pp. 10-12.
18. *SSR/R 55 / SDG 1939-40*, Vol. 52, No. 3, Part I, September 1, 1939, p. 8.
19. *SSR/R 9 / SDG 1938-39*, Vol. 51, No. 3, Part I, September 1, 1938, pp. 10-12.
20. *SSR/R 50 / ADM-28/H.H./864*, No.3840 dated February 28, 1939. Notification by Order of Her Highness the Regent.
21. *SSR/R 55 / SDG 1939-40*, Vol. 52, No. 3, Part I, September 1, 1939, p. 10.

Flood relief in villages

In 1938 there was excessive rain. Amboli ghat collapsed and the mud spread over Parpoli, Ovaliem and other villages. Many lands on the banks of rivers were washed with floods. Some houses in Bande, Madkhol and Amberi collapsed. Considering the circumstances, the State gave a remittance of one and a half anna in a rupee. In Sheri *thikans*, four annas in a rupee for *kharif* crops and for *bagaity thikans* six annas was the remission given. The total remission came to about Rs. 50,000. To make improvements in the lands affected by the floods, the farmers had been given *tagai* loans without any interest. The owners of houses, which had collapsed, were given funds from an association in Mumbai.[22]

Shikar bandobast

There was a note drawn up by Rani Parvatibai on Shikar Bandobast, which was to be made by Chief Forest Officer and Chief Police Officer in the State. There would be Shikar Centres at Sawantwadi, Amboli, Mulas, Mangaon and any other places where panther kill or any other shikar was to be done. Men should be trained for shikar work, especially in being alert on the look out. A scheme should be drawn up and submitted for orders. Some men should always go with the beaters in the jungle at the time of the beat. All machans should be kept ready by them, definite areas for beats should be fixed and maps of all the shikar places should be drawn showing the round of beats with the ways of the beaters, machans, *gavadan* or paths frequented by wild animals.[23]

World War II broke out in 1939 and India drawn in

The World War started on September 3, 1939 and in 1942 all the great nations and dominions of Europe, Africa, Asia, Australia and North America were involved in it. India was also drawn into the conflict because of her being a part of the British Empire. The Nazi German army, together with the hordes of aeroplanes, tanks and ships, marched across Europe. The newspapers carried blood-curdling reports of the Nazis supported by the Fascists of Italy having conquered all the European nations except those that sympathized with them. The Nazis had even attacked the Soviet Union and captured Leningrad and Moscow. The Russians were still

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22. *SSR/R 55 / SDG 1939-40*, Vol. 52, No. 3, Part I, September 1, 1939, p. 8.
23. *SSR/ R 50 / ADM-28 / H.H./ 864*, Copy of endorsement No. C/7 dated January 8, 1941 from the Secretary to the Regent to the Diwan.

fighting with their backs to the wall in Stalingrad. The United Kingdom of Great Britain was the only other European nation, which defended itself with great valour in spite of almost continuous air attacks by Nazi planes which pulverized the cities like London and the industrial centres. With not an inch left to the British and their allies on the continent of Europe, they had to fight for survival in North Africa. In the Far East, Japan had conquered the countries of South-east Asia up to the Northeastern borders of India. It had invaded the most important part of China although the communist and nationalist armies under the leadership of Maotzetung and Chiang Kai Shek defended the rest of it. The United States of America had been drawn into the War by the Pearl Harbour air attack on her ships by Japan. The U.S. was involved in the war in the East and West. She became a great supplier of arms, ammunition and hardware to her Allies in World War II.

The War gave a boost to the Indian economy to a large extent. The Government of India had to adopt agricultural and industrial policies to cope up with the tremendous demand for the products. The policy of Grow More Food was initiated by the Government to supply the demand for food in the war torn world. It had to supply food grains and other agricultural products for being used in the war. There was also a tremendous demand for industrial products which could be supplied from India. Training Indians in the more sophisticated techniques of manufacturing the modern products liberalized the industrial policy in India. The factories in India started the manufacture of war material like the textiles, shoes and leather goods, trucks, guns, tanks, electronic equipment, ships, aeroplanes and accessories. They had the opportunity to manufacture the spare parts and products that were required for the front. Large industrial production was undertaken and supplied to the war department. There was an increase in jobs especially in Mumbai that was the major field for Sawantwadi people to get employed. There were jobs in the government, semi-government and private concerns in the Mumbai Province and elsewhere, which could be obtained more easily by the people of Sawantwadi. There was also a demand for army recruits and greater opportunities for getting commissioned posts in the army, navy and air force. There was a steady demand for jobs and continuous flow of people from Sawantwadi for employment opportunities.

The Congress had begun to run the Governments of seven Provinces under the Government of India Act of 1935. But they had given

up power when the Governor General declared war without consulting the popular Governments. The resignation of governments by the Congress had affected some of the people in the State of Sawantwadi but left the majority in the state undisturbed.

Great changes in Sawantwadi administration caused by the War

The Darbar had to make certain arrangements for recruiting the men to the army. By the end of 1941, only 789 people had joined the army. But the number had reached 1,700 during 1942. The State Government had decided to encourage recruitment to armed forces by reserving jobs drawing Rupees thirty or more per month for people who would be demobilized. The Government had decided to appoint temporarily fifty per cent of those who were taken in service.[24] About 4,000 men had gone to the battlefield and 1,000 military pensioners were in the State.[25]

The Government had to start the Home Guards for increasing local defense. The high officials of the government and people from the middle classes were recruited on an honorary basis and smartly uniformed by the Government. It was like a showpiece to enhance the war spirit among the subjects.

Panic in Bombay made families shift back to Sawantwadi

But the worst effect the people of Sawantwadi had to suffer was caused by the panic that was created in their minds when there was a suspicion of a threat of attack on Mumbai by the enemy. The people of Sawantwadi had their families in Mumbai with children going to school. They began to leave Mumbai in the summer of 1942 by steamer but when the coastline was stopped by the end of May, they had to come by railway to Belgaum on their way to Sawantwadi.

In Belgaum there used to be about eight to ten buses starting for Sawantwadi in the rainy days. But the sale of petrol had stopped in Belgaum at the end of June 1942. Now it had become impossible to start even one or two buses for the terribly increased passengers waiting for transport. They had to pay exorbitant rates for taking twenty-two passengers in place of normal twelve that the buses were allowed to carry.

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24. *Vainateya*, Year 18, No. 40, September 1, 1942, p. 3.
25. *Ibid.*, Year 19, No. 15, March 9, 1943, p. 5.

The rate of water had gone up to Rupees ten a bucket. There were yet thousands of Sawantwadi people in Mumbai and they had to wait for two or more days in Belgaum and pay Rupees six or seven as the enhanced fare.[26]

Sawantwadi had bliss in July 1942 because the rains had been pouring for twenty days in a way it had not rained for a number of years. During June 11 and 30, it had rained fifty inches. It had rained only seventy inches in the whole of the previous year and people had to suffer for want of drinking water and the cattle had insufficient fodder. In the summer of 1942, the people had to go to long distances to fetch water. The wells, which were never known to have gone dry, were seen to be with no water in them. Clean water that shone like pure mirror and flowed through Konkan for all the twelve months had now begun to be muddy and had to be drunk after being filtered. But that calamity had disappeared with the rain pouring in from the *Mriga Nakshatra* that year. The rains had enthused the farmers to engage in their sewing operations.[27]

Rationing of food and supplies in deficit Sawantwadi

The most important enterprise that the State Government had to undertake was the control of prices of the necessities of life. There was an order of the Regent dated September 9, 1939 that the goods which were charged with increased prices because of the outbreak of World War II should not be charged higher than two annas a rupee according to the rates published in *Sawantwadi Durbari Gazette* on September 1, 1939 because the goods were received earlier than when the War started. Anyone who charged more would be liable to fine up to Rs. 500 or imprisonment up to one year.[28]

Up to the beginning of the war, there was no problem of getting the supplies for the people. It was the practice of State Government to publish in the Gazette the correct rates to be charged for goods sold in the market. But people began to complain that it was impossible to get goods at that rate. The Sawantwadi Government had appointed a committee of official and non-official people to start grain shops in important villages. The rates

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26. *Ibid.*, Year 18, No. 31, June 30, 1942, p. 3.
27. *Ibid.*, Year 18, No. 33, July 14, 1942, p. 2.
28. *SSR / R 55 / SDG 1939-40.*, Extraordinary, Vol. 52, September 9, 1939, p. 2.

of rice, *jondhla* and kerosene had been controlled to a great extent. In these shops a capital of three lakhs of rupees had been invested. [29]

But the people began to complain that the Government shops had increased the rates of rice and kerosene considerably. The increase of Rs. 14 and annas 14 to Rs. 16 and annas 8 for rice was considered by the public to be unreasonable. In fact, the authorities were considering the measure of opening fair price shops just then. But leaders of the people had started persuading the Government to start fair price shops about six months before and shops had been started about three months ahead. The *Vainateya* expressed appreciation of the early opening of such shops.[30]

An inquiry revealed that the stock of rice and kerosene was purchased at a higher price and it was therefore decided to increase the sale price. The Mumbai Government rate for the controlled low quality rice was Rs. 15 and annas 8. The rates were therefore reasonable.[31] Government shops had bought 12,000 sacks of rice, 300 of *jondhla* and 600 of *nachni*. They had bought 5000 tins of kerosene. Motiram Sheth Topiwale helped this enterprise by providing Rs. 50,000 on condition that it would be returned.[32]

Progress made by Sawantwadi State Bank

The merchants in Sawantwadi were able to make their purchases more easily on the support of the Sawantwadi State Bank. The Bank along with Topiwale had provided the capital worth Rs. 1,86,000 to the fair price shops for purchasing grains. The Bank had given loans of Rs. 4,00,000 as compared to Rs. 25,00,000 that was held by it as deposits.[33]

The State Bank of Sawantwadi had about seventeen lakh rupees as deposits after ten years of its existence. But now, with the coming over of Mumbai people, within a period of four months between March and June, the deposits had enhanced by about Rupees five lakhs.[34]

The year of 1942 was the tenth year from the inception of the Sawantwadi State Bank. The deposits in the Bank had increased this year

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29. *Vainateya*, Year 18, No. 32, July 7, 1942, p. 3.
30. *Ibid.*, Year 18, No. 33, July 14, 1942, p. 5.
31. *Ibid.*
32. *Ibid.*, Year 18, No. 40, September 1, 1942, p. 3.
33. *Ibid.*, Year 18, No. 47, November 10, 1942, p. 4.
34. *Ibid.*, Year 18, No. 32, July 7, 1942, p. 3.

to more than twenty-five lakhs. The net profit had been increasing every year and had come to Rs. 30,370 in the year 1941. That profit had been more than Rs. 5,044 over that of the previous year. The Bank had opened two new branches in 1941 and enhanced its former operations.[35]

Necessities of life remain problem for people

In 1942, there was a little more rice than the usual produced in South Konkan. But the problem of getting more food grains like rice, *jondhla* and *bajri* remained to worry the Government. It was about a month since the farmers collected the rice. But it was the custom not to offer new rice for sale in times of the season. The rice that was sold in small quantity in times of difficulty had so great a demand that its price instead of lowering kept on increasing. It was necessary to take the precaution of not allowing the local rice to be exported and the Government had issued a notification to this effect. It had clearly stated that the sale of Sawantwadi paddy or rice across the border was prohibited and had stopped the transport of it. The nearby talukas like Vengurla and Malwan were short of grains to a greater extent than Sawantwadi. The paddy and rice of Sawantwadi was in great demand from Talavde, Vengurla, Katta and Sukalwad. Because of the rates fixed for paddy and rice, the rates of outside places were too high to tempt the people from Sawantwadi to make contraband exports. It was estimated that a vast amount of food grains was already exported to those places. The Sawantwadi Durbari Gazette had announced a prohibition on November 15-17, 1942 that without Government permission no paddy or rice could be transported from one village to another and anyone who transcended this limitation would have his paddy or rice forfeited.[36]

In the beginning of 1943, there was a steep rise in food prices as the stock in fair price shops was over and there was not much stock with the merchants. It had become difficult to get polished rice at three seers and parboiled rice at four seers a rupee. The poor people had to suffer.[37]

In the beginning of 1943 the rates of food grains in Sawantwadi State were lower than in the nearby places like Malwan, Vengurla and Shiroda. But the rates began to increase tremendously in about a week as the Government shops did not have any stocks and the private merchants

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35. *Ibid.*, Year 18, No. 47, November 10, 1942, p. 4.
36. *Ibid.*, Year 19, No. 2, December 8, 1942, pp. 4-5.
37. *Ibid.*, Year 19, No. 4, December 22, 1942, p. 4.

did not have enough of the food grains. It became difficult to get the polished rice at three seers and the unpolished rice at four seers a rupee. As the labour rates and the salaries of employees had not increased to proportionate extent, many people had to live without one meal. The *Vainateya* had to draw the attention of the people to increase the labour charges and the salaries of employees to a sufficient extent and of the Government to start famine labour work to reduce the unemployment.[38]

In May 1943 the people were worried about the availability of food grains for four and a half months before the expected crops would be in hand. The rate of paddy in those days was five or six seers per rupee and of rice was two seers. Even at that rate the people could not get enough of grains. There were not enough grains in the Government shops and the food-grains which the supply officer had secured for twenty-five or thirty thousand rupees was being distributed among the State servants. The poor people had no money to store the grains or the middle class citizens could not do so because of the control imposed by the State. The people who had relied on the duty bound attitude and efficiency of the Government were wondering how they could cope up with the situation during the rains. In Sawantwadi were heard the reports of price control, restraints on transport, ban on export, stock declaration and ration cards. But not a thing was taken to an end in an effective and implementable way. The responsibility of supplying food grains, which the Government took upon itself when it announced the scheme of issuing ration cards, could not be fulfilled.[39]

On June 13, 1943, the dearness allowance to be paid was announced till the War would continue. The Secretary was to be paid Rupees twelve and the last in the grade Rupees six. The cost of living had increased to two or three times in the three years since the War had started. It was not possible to meet the expenditure with an increase in the salary of two to three rupees. It was very necessary to increase the salaries of those drawing thirty-five rupees per month by more substantial dearness allowance.[40]

Motiram Desai Topiwale had sent Rupees twenty-five thousand without any interest for setting up low priced shops to provide food grains

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38. *Ibid.*, Year 19, No. 7, January 12, 1943, p. 3.
39. *Ibid.*, Year 19, No. 25, May 18, 1943, p. 2.
40. *Ibid.*, Year 19, No. 29, June 15, 1943, p. 2.

for Harijans in the Sawantwadi State. The Harijan Dhanya Sahayyak Mandal Dhanya Vikrichi Yojana opened four shops in different places. They had given ration cards to five hundred and sixty-three families and provided food grains at cheaper prices. That was indeed a way some of the families of Harijans could be helped.[41]

As compared with adjoining British territories, the food prices in the State were somewhat high. The State had to bring its stock from very long distances. Jowar and paddy was brought from Baluchistan, rice from Central Provinces and Sind, wheat from Kotah and Bundi States, and gram from the Punjab. As the stock of food grains could not be obtained in time before May and because of unavailability of wagons, the State could not take benefit of the cheaper sea route from Mumbai. The sea route was closed for transport during the monsoons. The stock had to be brought by Railway up to Belgaum and from there by motor lorries. The stocks were received in June and July when the rains were heavy.[42]

In April and May 1943, the stocks on hand were low with the State and the ration quota had to be cut by fifty per cent. But from June, the stocks of jowar and wheat were sufficient for rations to be restored. It was needed to distribute the supply of allotted quota for a year over a period of seven months from November to the end of May.[43]

As the stock of rice in Sawantwadi had been getting over, the people had to get paddy from the black market in the town at one seer per rupee and in the villages at three seers a rupee. Many people had to subsist on milo and wheat. Whatever food grains and rice were available in the market would last for a month.[44]

Medical attention after 1940

In 1941, the cost of medicines having gone up to a large extent, the Government decided that, with the exception of very poor people, a charge of half an anna would be collected from the patients for two days

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41. *Ibid.*, Year 19, No. 33, July 13, 1943, p. 1.
42. *SSR/R 33 / F.ADM-HA / Political - Chamber of Princes*, A reply to a confidential letter from Bhopal dated September 1, 1944 by Hamidullah, Nawab of Bhopal, Chancellor, Chamber of Princes asking for information about Food Policy and the Famine Commission, which was then sitting.
43. *Ibid.*
44. *Vainateya*, Year 23, No. 34, July 22, 1947, p. 4.

medicines in its dispensaries. In 1941, the Malaria Medical Officer had given 2800 injections free of charge.[45]

It was announced by the Government of Sawantwadi that Dr. Evans, an American of the Vengurla Mission St. Luke's Hospital, was appointed as Advisor to the Westropp Civil Hospital.[46]

The Darbar had already opened centres for giving medical treatment by a rural person to the small villages at Akeri, Ghavnalem, Gothos. Konal, Kunkeri and Shivapur. Since the experiment was useful to the villagers, it was decided to add to these centres in 1944-45. It was decided that if at least twenty-five important persons would apply to Chief Medical Officer, a medical training would be given for Annas 12 per day to a person suggested by them. He would know which supplied medicines should be given to which disease. There were twenty-six ailments including typhoid fever, influenza, pneumonia, malaria, meningitis, tuberculosis, and dog bite, a bite by a serpent, cholera and others. If a capable individual was found, it was proposed to open twenty-five centres in five years at the rate of five a year. The villagers should arrange for a room, furniture and toilet. The practitioner would get Rupees five per month.[47]

Dr. N.R. Suvarna, M.S., was appointed as the Chief Medical Officer, Sawantwadi, and also as Superintendent of Jail, Vaccination and Leper and Lunatic Asylums on a salary of Rs. 225 per month.[48]

The Sawantwadi State General Hospital had changed its identity ever since the surgical expert, Dr. Suvarna, was appointed to it. The wards of men and women were so full of patients that it was not possible for the hospital to provide cots for them.[49]

Rani Janakibai Maternity Home

In 1925, the social workers and doctors of Sawantwadi decided to provide four cots in Sawantwadi for the delivery of children. Khemraj V and Rani Parvatibai took up this idea with enthusiasm. He decided to give an extensive piece of land and building just behind the Westropp Civil Hospital for the maternity home. It was to be named after Rani Janakibai,

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45. *Ibid.*, Year 18, No. 40, September 1, 1942, p. 3.
46. *Ibid.*, Year 19, No. 4, December 22, 1942, p. 3.
47. *SSR/R 10 / SDG 1944-45*, Vol. 57, No. 19, Part I, May 1, 1945, pp.169 -170.
48. *Ibid. 1942-43*, Vol. 55, No. 2, Part II, August 15, 1942, p. 10. Regent's order No. 96 of August 8, 1942.
49. *Vainateya*, Year 19, No. 32, July 6, 1943, p. 2.

Khemraj's mother, who had died during his childhood. It was called Rani Jankibai Maternity Home. A building was constructed by the Government to have fourteen cots in the hospital. Khemraj V had even extracted a promise of voluntary contribution from the society of Sawantwadi and assured an equal amount to be given by him if the contribution of the people had been substantial. The people to the extent of Rupees thirty thousand raised the fund.

A senior medical sister assisted by a few nurses ran the Home. They worked under the free supervision of doctors in Sawantwadi who gave free treatment in the case of an operation. The Maternity Home was open to women of all religions. But an objection was raised in the case of a woman who had been a prostitute. Khemraj V refused to admit women of that profession. But the doctors convinced him that they should make no distinction in treating a patient on the basis of his or her private life.

Mangeshrao Sabnis looked after the Maternity Home. Salvador Fernandez assisted him by writing the accounts for years together. Dr. Bhausaheb Parulkar then took over the management of the Maternity Home. Dr. Mrs. Kamble was appointed as the medical officer when the number of patients increased. It was well equipped with nurses, servants and medical instruments.

Development of education during Regency Regime

The Naib Diwan, the official Secretary to the Education Committee, reported that seven additional schools had been opened in seven villages. He said that five aided schools had been started in five more villages. The Adult Education League had enrolled 154 members till then. A paid propagandist had been appointed as an experimental measure, one more book had been published and another was being prepared. Bulletins were issued on behalf of the League and widely circulated throughout the State. The agricultural course was extended to Standard VI in the Banda Anglo-Vernacular School in 1936. Additional assistant staff had increased the utility of the technical school.[50]

The number of students in schools had now increased to a considerable extent because of the influx of Mumbai children. There were

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50. *SSR / R 9 / SDG 1937-38*, Vol. 50, No.1, August 2, 1937, pp. 2-3.

now three high schools in Sawantwadi and they had to increase the number of divisions in a class and to appoint extra teachers.[51]

It was not possible to start new Government and Government aided schools during the year of 1941. Many families of Sawantwadi people came from Mumbai in the first half of 1942. The students had therefore increased in the English schools and so new teachers had to be appointed. An attempt was being made to introduce industrial training in the primary schools.[52]

At the end of 1942-43, the total number of educational institutions in the State was 222. Out of those, 160 were State schools and the remaining 62 were aided by the State. The total number of students was 14,277, including 3,010 girls. Out of that number, 7,247 were Mahrattas, 2,189 Brahmans, 387 Harijans, 403 Mohammedans, 426 Christians and 3,625 other Hindus. Thus, at the end of ten years from 1932-33, the total number increased from 155 to 222. The number of State schools had increased from 129 to 160 and the number of State aided schools from 26 to 62. During the period, the number students had increased from 9,396 to 14,277.[53]

There were three High Schools, two of which were run by the State. The third one was Kalsulkar English School, which received grant from the State. In 1942-43, there were 12 Anglo-Marathi and Middle Schools in the State as compared with seven ten years before. Of those, eleven were State schools and one was a private school receiving grant from the State. The total number of primary schools increased from 144 to 205. Of the 205, 145 were State schools and 60 were private schools aided by the State.[54]

Students of the Depressed Classes received free education in all State institutions. They were also given slates and books free by the Educational Department. The girls received free education in primary schools and were charged half the normal fees in English schools. Students belonging to the Mahratta community who were poor and deserving were given free ships in all State schools without limit. There were Mahratta Boardinghouses at Sawantwadi and Kudal, which received

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51. *Vainateya*, Year 18, No. 32, July 7, 1942, p. 3.
52. *Ibid.*, Year 18, No. 40, September 1, 1942, p. 3.
53. *SSR/ R 33 / F.ADM-HA / Political - Chamber of Princes*, Letter by Naib Diwan to Diwan cited earlier.
54. *Ibid.*

a grant from the Educational Department. Formerly, the Technical School at Sawantwadi used to teach carpentry only. In the ten years preceding 1944, the school had been developed to give instructions in printing, weaving and carpentry. One of those subjects was taught as a compulsory subject to boys in Sawantwadi High School. An Agricultural Farm was attached to Khemraj Memorial English School at Banda that taught the first five English standards. Agriculture was taught as a compulsory subject in that school.[55]

There was no compulsion of education in the State. But it was under contemplation to make it compulsory for students once joining a primary school. They were to receive instructions until the completion of the full primary course as an experiment in some schools.[56]

During the ten years, the number of trained teachers had increased considerably. A normal class for the training of Marathi teachers was conducted for several years and practically all the teachers were trained.[57]

There was the Adult Education League started in 1936-37. This League received a grant of Rs. 2,580 from the Educational Department. The number of adults who had passed the adult literacy test was 469. The League had published three books suitable for the teaching of adults. At the end of 1942-43, there were 14 adult education classes that were attended by 288 adults.[58]

In 1932-33, there were only three libraries. But at the end of 1942-43, the number of libraries had increased to nine. The expenditure of the Educational Department was Rs. 74,692 in 1932-33. It was Rs. 1,10,309 in 1942-43.[59]

The Education Department reported on August 29, 1939 that a refresher course was started in Kalsuli and 40 teachers were able to complete their education of the first part. A strict circular was issued not to discriminate against Harijan students.[60] The Darbar issued orders in August 1939 to take the Harijans into service and treat them well. It was announced that one man was taken in service in the Diwan's office.[61]

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55. *Ibid.*
56. *Ibid.*
57. *Ibid.*
58. *Ibid.*
59. *Ibid.*
60. *SSR/R 55 / SDG 1939-40*, Vol. 52, No. 3. Part I, September 1, 1939, p. 11.
61. *Ibid.*

The population according to the Census of 1941 was 2,52,170. The literates were 43,699 and out of those there were 36,498 men and 7,201 women. The total percentage of literates was 17.3 while it was 7.6 in 1931.[62] In March 1943, Ranisaheb Parvatibai declared the Narayanrao Anant Desai Topiwale Vidyalaya at Valavli open.[63]

The Board of Education had inquired whether the Sawantwadi Municipality was prepared to take control of the Primary Schools Board. The only information that was available to them was that the fee collected by them were only Rupees 350 and the expenditure that would have to be incurred by them was about Rs. 8,250. Whether the Municipality would receive the amount while taking charge of the Board and what proportion would they receive of the increased expenditure in future was not made clear.[64]

Rani Parvatidevi College of Arts and Science

In the period before 1945, a proposal was made in Sawantwadi that a college should be started there to cater to the needs of the people of South Konkan. The students from Sawantwadi, mostly from the Saraswat and other Brahman community, had been receiving higher education in colleges even before the University of Bombay was started in 1857. There were students who had passed out of the Grant Medical College. They had their pre-university education mostly in Ratnagiri and Mumbai, and later on in Sawantwadi. Only a few of these students enrolled in the colleges in Mumbai, Pune, Kolhapur, Belgaum and Dharwar. Some of them distinguished themselves in the University of Bombay and were sent for further education to the United Kingdom with scholarships from educational foundations including the one of the Saraswat community. Some of them passed the Indian Civil Service examination and held important posts in the Provincial and Central Governments. Some of the graduates held important positions in various other fields like administration, law, and medicine, engineering and teaching both outside Sawantwadi and inside. It was felt by the Government and the people that it would beneficial to have college in Sawantwadi, as it would enable students to avail themselves of higher education.

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62. *SSR / R 55 / SDG 1940-41*, Vol. 53, No. 17, Part I. April 1, 1941, p. 111.
63. *Vainateya*, Year 19, No. 15, March 9, 1943, p. 5.
64. *Ibid.*, Year 19, No. 28, June 8, 1943, p. 2.

It was decided to start the Rani Parvatidevi College of Arts and Science in the two buildings and compound of the Sawantwadi High School. The buildings were quite famous as having been built under the Political Superintendent Westropp. The college was given the affiliation of the University of Bombay and Professor Awati, a retired Principal of the Elphinstone College in Mumbai, was appointed as the Principal. A good staff was appointed and the college was to have classes initially up to the intermediate classes for arts and science. The curricular and extracurricular activities in the college went on satisfactorily for the first two years.

But at the end of the second year, a difference of opinion between the Regent and President of the College and the students broke out. There was some insulting behaviour of people in the audience towards the Regent while she was presiding at the meeting in the College Hall over a function held to inaugurate the DDT campaign against malaria. It was an important function which was attended by well-known citizens including the doctors, some of whom were invited from outside. The President of the Student Council was not present at the meeting.

The Regent remembered the insult at the meeting and demanded from the Principal of the College that the President of the Student Council should apologize to her for the insulting behaviour of the College students during the meeting. This was to be done while approaching the Regent for inviting her to preside over the annual gathering function of the College. But the Student President refused to apologize on behalf of the students of the College because the insult was delivered by members of the public meeting that was held by the State in the hall in the College. There was also the question of playing the State anthem, which should be respected by the students rising up. The President of the Student Council replied to the Principal that he could not guarantee the rising of the students during the State anthem. He, on the other hand, asserted that the national song of the Congress, the Vande Mataram, would be sung at the beginning of the ceremony. The negotiation of the Principal with the Regent, therefore, broke down and the Regent refused to preside over the students' gathering that year. The College gathering that year was cancelled.

It was decided by the students to hold their gathering outside the College premises. The President of the Student Council invited Nath Pai to preside over the gathering and he consented. There was not a hall available for the function as the authorities were scared of losing the grant-

in-aid of the State. But the Mahajans of the temple of Vithoba agreed to give it to the College students for celebrating the gathering.

And with this incident, the State authorities decided the question of whether the College should be continued in Sawantwadi. The college did not show any good prospect of continuing in Sawantwadi. It was difficult to manage the expenses. There were not enough students in the College. So it was decided in the next year that the College should be shifted to Thalakwadi, Belgaum.[65]

A storm on Konkan Coast

There was a terrible storm on the Konkan coast on May 23, 1943. The merchants, *tandels* and the common people were found to be extremely depressed. There were twelve *galbats* anchored at Vengurla harbour having a cargo of cloth, coconuts and grains on them. A lot of the cargo was found floating to the coast. It was feared that there were at least five or six hundred vessels caught in the storm.[66]

Lakhs of rupees of cargo sank into the sea and the merchants suffered losses to a great extent. There were many sailors who perished in the sea. Some two and a half years back hundreds of *galbats* and crores of rupees of goods had been destroyed on the sea. If the merchants who trade on the Konkan coast insured their property, they would have the strength to bear such unexpected losses.[67]

A tiger at Pandur

A tiger was roaming in the forest around Pandur and it had become risky for people to go across the street during the day. The tiger at Pandur killed a calf on June 30, 1947 and killed a goat on July 1 that belonged to a Dhangar in Vetale Bambarde.[68]

Sawantwadi Town Municipality

The *Sawantwadi Shyahar Vyavastha Mandal* or the Sawantwadi Municipality had now developed into a more independent organization. It had an elected body and a constitution with the President and some

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65. The President of the Student Council of the College was the author of this work. He has very objectively narrated the events.
66. *Ibid.*, Year 19, No. 27, June 1, 1943, p. 1.
67. *Ibid.*, p. 2.
68. *Ibid.*, Year 23, No. 34, July 22, 1947, p. 5.

members who were appointed by the Government. They were trying to get the almost nominal control of the Government on it to be removed.

"Although the Sawantwadi Municipal Act was passed in 1930," Meghnad Shirodkar, who had spent almost all his entire life in Sawantwadi, said, "it did not mean that earlier there was no machinery for satisfying the minimum needs of civic life of the citizens. Sawantwadi was the capital of the State. In the town there were roads and a network of lanes. They were being swept. In the summer the roads were being sprinkled with water so that the people should not bothered with the flying dust. There were western commodes and *bhangis*. There were street lights. There were epidemics and there were remedies to avoid them. But everything was managed with an income that was just enough and the expenses were quite manageable. The people used to manage with a few expectations. All this was done by the department of the State."[69]

They were carrying out the common duties of Sawantwadi town management like making roads and keeping them under repairs, keeping the town clean by employing the sweepers, keeping the toilets of some of the more civilized houses clean by using a body of those who were called *bhangis* and making them carry buckets full of the excrement they had filled by emptying buckets in the toilets. These buckets were then emptied in a metal tank that carried the dirt in a bullock cart to a distant well. There were no public toilets in the busy localities and people relieved themselves behind a wall or a gutter. Most of the people had their place in the compound where they could relieve themselves in the morning or the evening. They were well provided with water that they filled at the public taps at two times a day and mostly from wells that rarely got dried. The Municipality looked after the running of the vegetable, fish and other markets. They gave the permission to build houses and kept them from encroachment against the municipal or private property. They used to keep some of the roads lighted with kerosene lamps but were able to do so with electric lamps and supply electricity to some of the houses that could afford it.

The Sawantwadi Shyahar Vyavastha Mandal had made the request that they should be given the right to elect their President and that they

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69 M.D. Shirodkar, "Sawantwadi Nagarpalikechi Chalis Varshatil Vatchal", in *Sawantwadi Nagarpalika Smaranika 1971*, no pagination, Sawantwadi, 1971.

should have all the members elected. The Darbar had conceded these requests.[70]

There was a general meeting called on November 15, 1942 to consider the laying of a new road in Khasgilwada, the space to be left from the road while giving permission to build new houses and the higher cost that was demanded for the supply of electricity. It was also doing much better now in the income it could get.[71]

It was considered in 1943 whether the Municipality should shoulder any permanent responsibility for malaria control that was held by a separate department of the Government. When the Malaria Department was carrying out its proper activity in an efficient manner, it was considered proper that the Municipality should help in the exceptional work with special expenditure. The Municipality had been spending for eradication of malaria for several years.[72]

The State had enacted a law in view of the discovery of DDT being the drug that was useful in combating the invincible malaria. It was proposed to allot Rs. 30,000 to be spent on the prevention of malaria in the town of Sawantwadi every year. The spraying would be over by the end of December. It was announced that pludrin was bought in sufficient quantities.[73]

Commercial situation in Sawantwadi

Although Sodium silicate, Silica, Chrome, Mica, Bauxite, Manganese and earth and clay useful for paints were found in the State, there was no exploitation of the resources on a large scale by any commercial concern. There were some concerns that prepared Indian *bidis*. In about 1943, *bidis* of the value of about Rs. 3,00,000 per annum were manufactured of which the major share was being sent to Mumbai.[74]

Of the teak that was grown in the State, some timbre was exported. Of the irrigation facilities, there were mostly wells and some tanks. There were animal husbandry and other subsidiary occupations such as dairy

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70. *SSR / R 55 / SDG 1939-40*, Vol. 52, No. 3, Part I, September 1, 1939, p. 10.
71. *Vainateya*, Year 18, No. 47, November 10, 1942, p. 5.
72. *Ibid.*, Year 19, No. 28, June 8, 1943, p. 2.
73. *SSR / R 10 / SDG 1947-48*, Vol. 60, No. 6, Part 4, October 15, 1947, p. 3.
74. *SSR / R 33 / F.ADM-HA / Political - Chamber of Princes*, A draft reply to the Questionnaire sent by the Chamber of Princes (Narendra Mandal) with their circular No. 87/VII-232 dated August 12, 1943 - the information was not sent.

farming, cattle breeding, silk worm rearing and others. No such occupations existed in the State on a large scale.[75]

Bidis, lacquered toys, timbre and *kokums* were exported to some extent. Handicraft industry existed in the State but no census of it was taken.[76]

The State had to import annually 1,30,000 Bengali maunds of rice, 20,000 Bengali maunds of jowar, 5,000 Bengali maunds of *bajra*, 5,000 Bengali maunds of pulses and grams, 45,000 tins of kerosene, 12,000 bags of sugar and 10,000 Bengali maunds of wheat and wheat products. There was no customs duties, whether internal or maritime, levied in the State.[77]

The State had commenced the work of levying the income tax since June 5, 1942. The Diwan of Sawantwadi was to be the Income Tax Commissioner and the two Kamavisdars over the two Pethas were appointed as the Income Tax Officers.[78] They collected Rs. 7,000 during one year. It was expected that they would receive from this source some Rs. 15,000 or so. The number of persons assessed during the first year was 200.[79]

There was electric supply in the State capital that gave electricity to the Durbar, the municipality, the business and the well-to-do public for domestic use. There was also the telephone connection in Sawantwadi. There was one school in Sawantwadi, which imparted training in weaving, printing and carpentry to the High School students. The State had its own Abkari or Excise department and received Rs. 1,10,000 from it.[80]

Regency of Ranisaheb Parvatidevi comes to an end

The Regency of Ranisaheb Parvatidevi had lasted for ten years. She was supposed to run the administration of the State during the period of the minority of Yuvaraj Shivram Sawant Bhonsle. He was just ten years old when Khem Sawant V fell down on the pavement of Wanleswadi Swimming Pool to his sorrowful death in front of his eyes. He was given his education and military training at the Dehra Doon Defence School and

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75. *Ibid.*
76. *Ibid.*
77. *Ibid.*
78. *Vainateya*, Year 18, No. 36, August 4, 1942, p. 5.
79. *SSR / R 33 / F.ADM-HA / Political - Chamber of Princes*, A draft reply to Questionnaire etc.
80. *Ibid.*

administrative education in Sawantwadi. He was nineteen years of age and fit to assume the title of Raja Shivram Sawant Bhonsle Bahadur Sardesai of Kudal and Mahalanihai. He ascended the Gadi on May 12, 1947 and took the administration of Sawantwadi in his own hands.

Ranisaheb Parvatidevi had been the ruler of an Indian State, which was governed according to the age-old system of monarchy in India with modifications imposed by the Treaty of 1819 and the various agreements that were imposed on it by the British Government during the subsequent period. She had tried to maintain the system throughout the later part of her regime. When it appeared that the old system had to be modified by giving constitutional rights to the people, she had proposed a few changes in the Constitution in consultation with the rulers of other States. These changes were nothing than a mockery of the constitutional provisions, which she seemed to have made to the people. The British Government had to gulp these changes according to the relationship that existed between the British Crown and the Indian rulers. The problem of relationship between the Raja of Sawantwadi and the people who lived under his monarchical authority could ultimately be resolved with the unity of the people that could have triumphed in a struggle with it. But the people of Sawantwadi were not united on this issue. A comparatively small percentage of people who lived in towns and a sprinkling of people who were influenced by them were of the opinion that the constitution be revised to give them the representative government in the State. But these people were well organized and having their relationship with the vast population which existed outside the Indian States population. This was the situation within the State that had no solution yet. The constitutional arrangements to provide a solution to the problem that were made during the last days of the Regent's regime have been dealt with in the next chapter.

The Diwan discussed the honour that was to be shown to the Regent Ranisaheb by presenting her with a purse and the collection of large sums of money from the successful people from the State at the beginning of 1947.[81] The function of presenting a purse was discussed a year later. The Chhatrapati of Kolhapur was to visit Sawantwadi for the inter-school athletic competition of the Deccan States of Southern Maharashtra. A sum of Rs. 60,000 had been collected and it was to be

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81. *Vainateya*, January 7, 1947, Year 23, No. 6, p. 7.

spent on the people as they expected it. But the Praja Parishad opposed that programme because they alleged that Government officials had brought pressure on the people to contribute. It was decided by them to take out processions to protest against that.[82] Black flag demonstrations were to be held on the occasion of the visit of Chhatrapati of Kolhapur. Then Parvatibai Bhonsle took the decision that she would not receive the purse to avoid the possible riots.[83] And so the curtain was down on the distinguished career of Regent Ranisaheb Parvatibai Bhonsle.

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82. *SSR / R 10 / SDG 1947-48*, January 15, 1948, Vol. 60, No. 12, Part I-A, pp. 29-30.
83. *Ibid.*, p. 31.

Chapter 8

INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT AND MERGER INTO DOMINION OF INDIA.

Early political awareness in Sawantwadi State

THE DEFEATED ATTEMPT OF THE PEOPLE to regain their independence from the British in 1845 was fresh in their minds for about a couple of generations. They could not regain the opportunities of getting the jobs and the incomes of the years before the British had secured the inward and outgoing commerce, the control of Vengurla, the Ramghat and other passes, the internal and external customs, and the military control of the main line of communication from Vengurla to the Deccan. The people began living with their belts tightened on the agricultural incomes and the resources from land and forests available to them. Gone were the taxes, which were levied, by the State, the Sardars, the *tarafs*, and the tax gatherers on banks of rivers. There were no more of the incomes of watchmen who looked after the law and order of the lines of communication of commerce and about the entrance and exit of the ghats, the difficult passes on the way and the long distances of hills and dales over which the trade had to pass. The numerous *sanadkari sepais* who were paid by the State had to go without their income. There were also the extensive body of *gadkaries* who manned the numerous forts and cavaliers and soldiers who served in the standing army. The sailors also had lost their jobs in the service of the state. There were also the numerous traders, merchants and their assistants who had been making a living on the prosperous trade between the country beyond the mountains and lands across the oceans. And so had the Raja, Mehamans, Sardars and Darakdars lost their incomes except for a small margin of them.

The only chances the people had of securing jobs were in Mumbai and other small places where the British had their administrative and commercial dealings. There was a great opportunity there for dealings in commerce and industry for Indian entrepreneurs. Mumbai was the main place where they found opportunities of jobs and for living. Among the first to visit Mumbai from Sawantwadi was Bal Gangadhar Shastri Jambhekar who became famous as a deep scholar in various subjects, an Assistant

Professor in Elphinstone College and, finally, Superintendent of Education in the Government of Bombay.

There was, however, a demand for labourers in Mauritius between 1851 and 1861 and a large number of chiefly Mahrattas and Bhandaries crossed the Indian Ocean to work over there. Although the demand in Mauritius had ceased in 1861, there was a demand for labour in Mumbai and in some towns. There was a movement of a substantial number of people from Sawantwadi, though the number could not have been more than five hundred a year.

First major industries started in India in 1850s

In India the first industrial activity began in the 1850s. There was the jute manufacturing industry of Kolkata, the cotton textile industry of Mumbai and the railway network in various places in India. By 1914, they had developed into large-scale industries. The jute manufacturing industry had become the largest in the world. The cotton textile industry had become the fourth- or fifth-largest in the world. And the railways had become the third largest network of all the countries. The richest and most rapidly growing centres of urban demand in this period were the great trading posts like Mumbai, Kolkata, Chennai and Karachi and some up-country towns at important railway junctions.[1]

Idle hands get opportunities of employment in Mumbai

There was indeed raw labour that the industries could get from the surrounding areas. The idle hands from the poor income agricultural lands of Sawantwadi were looking for an opportunity to get a job. They took the jobs that were offered in Mumbai in the textile mills and the railways. Many of them had about six months when they were not occupied by the agricultural operations and took the jobs during this period. Most of them came alone leaving their families behind. Some of them picked up the skills that were necessary for getting a higher salary.

A large number of the Brahmans, especially the Saraswats, went to Mumbai for jobs in the government, semi-government and private commercial offices. This created the demand for English education in Sawantwadi, for which they had to go to Ratnagiri earlier. Their English

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1. Morris D. Morris, 'The Growth of Large-Scale Industry to 1947', in Dharma Kumar and Maghnad Desai, eds., *The Cambridge Economic History of India, Volume 2, C. 1757 - C. 1970*, pp. 553-555.

education depended on the demand for it in Mumbai and other places. The Sawantwadi High School was started and about ten students per year passed the matriculation examination. But there was a large number who had learnt enough in the English teaching school to equip themselves with jobs. There was a larger number who were getting Marathi education who sought for jobs with private commercial persons and for supervisory jobs in mills and other concerns. The rest of the illiterate or barely literate people also got jobs as family assistants, cooks, mill or other factory workers and peons. Many of them were in the army and the police.

The people who had passed the matriculation examination went to Mumbai for the professional courses like medicine, law, and engineering or as teachers. And the many who could not afford to join colleges joined the government or commercial offices and rose to responsible positions.

Constant flow of information between Mumbai and Sawantwadi

There was a constant flow of people from Sawantwadi that went on increasing in number up to the middle of the twentieth century. In the beginning they went alone, and came back home once or twice a year. But as years passed by, they began to take their families to live with them. Except some who had three or four room's apartments, they lived in small tenements in a row of single or double rooms. Most of the buildings that were occupied by them were at Dhobi Talao, Girgaon, Prarthana Samaj, Lamington Road, Sat Rasta, Lower Parel, Lal Bagh, Parel, Dadar and Mahim. They sent their children to schools and colleges for education. They were constant readers of newspapers and magazines and attended the social, cultural and political meetings in the city. Mumbai was the epicentre of all activity in the country and the ideas enunciated by the leaders of public opinion did not leave some of the intellectual people among them untouched.

Mumbai an epicentre of intellectual activity

There was a centre of intellectual activity in Mumbai Fort about the weaknesses of Indian society that were showing it fall so short of that of the rulers. Among the intellectuals, who were gathered around the Elphinstone College, there was Dadabhai Naoroji who had been professor of mathematics and philosophy in the same college. He went to England and among the handful of intellectuals among the thousand or so Indians, who were in London, established associations to promote the Indian

cause. He was associated with persons like W.C.Bonnerjee, who served on the Calcutta High Court, Motilal Ghose, editor and co-proprietor of the *Amrita Bazaar Patrika*, Romesh Dutt, the author of *Economic History of India under Early British Rule*, Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, later known as Mahatma and Father of the Indian Nation and many others including Englishmen and Anglo-Indians. They worked in collaboration with Gopal Krishna Gokhale, economist and historian, and a Congress supporter with a reputation for moderate political views. When Gandhi arrived in London to study law, he found that "Indian students had free access to the G.O.M. (Grand Old Man) at all hours of the day ... no matter to which province or religion they belonged. He was there to advise and guide them in their difficulties....And so Dadabhai became real Dada to me."[2]

They established the British Committee of the Indian National Congress, and the London Indian Society. They flooded Great Britain with pamphlets, leaflets, newspapers, and magazine articles, in a word to carry on an agitation there.[3] In 1890, Hume and Dadabhai founded *India*, which became a weekly by 1898.[4] Dadabhai Naoroji was a member of British Parliament. He and his colleagues argued that they must get participation in local and national government in India and more democratic elections. They wanted the Indians to have the right to compete for all civil service positions, serve as officers in the Indian Army and the Indian police force, and teach and administer at all schools in India.[5]

Past memories and greater opportunities for the future

When the early political movement was started in cities like Kolkata, Mumbai, Chennai, Pune and other towns in India, there was only a quiet reflection of it in the environs of British India. When people from vast areas, which belonged to Indian Princes, remembered the brave battles, which their ancestors had fought with the British in 1857, they had come to believe the memories of these as events of a distant past. The British announced a new policy after the holocaust, which cautiously gave the people the hopes of a better opportunity for those who learnt in the three universities they had established. The people had been doing extremely

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2. Jonathan Schneer, *London 1900: The Imperial Metropolis*, p. 185.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 188.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 191.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 194.

well in the careers they had adopted and making their presence felt in the various cadres like judges, lawyers, doctors, civil servants, journalists, university professors and school teachers.

When the Indian National Congress was founded in 1885, political leaders and journalists like Lokamanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak took over the lead from Pune which was in the Bombay Presidency. There were people who had been influenced by the social, religious and political renaissance that had been brought about by the writings of Raja Ram Mohan Roy. Some of these people included the Rajas and Maharajas who had their sympathies with the revolutionaries of the Bengal partition days. The Deccan states like Kolhapur, Sangli, Miraj, Sawantwadi, Jamkhindi and many other Mahratta states in other parts of India were not reconciled to the lapse of the states like Satara, Nagpur and Jhansi. This was the reason why the reformers of the later period of the nineteenth century and the first two decades of the twentieth looked upon the Princes with loyalty and pride. Socio-religious leaders like Swami Dayanand Saraswati, Swami Vivekanand, Arvind Ghosh and Shyamkrishna Verma were inclined to get the support of the Princes for furthering their activities for the uplift of the people. The people carried fresh memories of heroes like Tatya Tope, Rani Laxmibai of Jhansi, Vasudeo Balwant Phadke and Chaphekar brothers. The movement led by Bal Gangadhar Tilak and his controversy with Gopal Ganesh Agarkar, the life imprisonment at the Silver Jail in Andaman Island of Tilak and the *Kesari* which he edited ignited a flame in the minds of the majority of urban population. When Mahatma Gandhi came back from South Africa and took the lead of Indian National Congress, there was a tremendous increase of the civil liberties movement, especially after the Jalianwala Baug massacre. Then came the Simon Committee and salt *satyagraha* movement and the Round Table Conferences. The people of Sawantwadi were awake to the salt satya-graha which was held and suppressed at Shiroda, just outside the border of the State. The whole country was full of tall leaders supported by a host of others. Some of them like Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhash Chandra Bose revolutionized the Indian society with their speeches and writings. There were a host of newspapers, journals, magazines, books and pamphlets in India either supporting or opposing the views of individual political leaders.

Political movement in Sawantwadi State

There were many newspaper, magazine and book readers in Sawantwadi right from about 1851 if not earlier. Besides there were educated persons in Mumbai and other places who attended some of the meetings that discussed political matters. There was a steady exchange of views between the people when they arrived home and those who were at home. The people in Sawantwadi were well acquainted with the thinking of those who discussed the topics of economic, social, political and cultural interest. But the people who were influenced by these cultural exchanges were those who belonged to the literate class and mostly of the Brahman and the Vani classes. They followed the writings, talks and examples of the classes who were at the forefront in India. The people in the villages belonging to the large Mahratta and Bhandari classes were to a large extent free of those influences.

The majority of the people of Sawantwadi had continued to be sympathetic to the accustomed regime that was symbolized by the Raja. They were the people for whom the education system had designed to give free accommodation and living near the high schools. They were given free or concession education in the villages. Their jobs were more or less arranged by the State, whether they were in the military or police department. They were given scholarships if they did well in their studies. There was in fact a very close relationship of the Royal family with Sardars, former Desais, Naiks and several of the former holders of appointments and their families. These bonds of loyalty remained and they continued to have cognizance of that relationship. They did not have any other model of political relationship of the State with the subjects than the one of Raje Shahi, which had so far existed. They thought the state, which existed, was the best for them with only a little more attention being paid to them.

Influence of writings, newspapers and journals

There were two or three journals, which were started in Sawantwadi, but they did not last long. But there was a quarto sized weekly started by Meghnad Dattatraya Shirodkar in Sawantwadi, with a social and cultural section edited by the famous novelist and literary figure, Vishnu Sakharam Khandekar. The weekly was named *Vainateya* and its first issue was published on October 29, 1924, the day on which Khemraj V received the powers to rule the State after a lapse of eighty-six years.

Shirodkar was a man from Zarap and had gone to Pune to get himself educated at the Tilak Mahavidyalaya. He took his degree in Arts from there and a Diploma in Journalism under the guidance of N.C. Kelkar. He then arrived in Sawantwadi with an intention of starting a weekly newspaper. He was deeply influenced by Lokamanya Tilak and Mahatma Gandhi and devoted himself to the propagation of khadi, the village industry, the abolition of untouchability, prohibition and other programmes of national development. He collected the news about Sawantwadi including the doings and announcements of the State Administration and of the social, cultural, political and economic life of the people in the State. It also covered the Ratnagiri District and the Deccan States of the Bombay Province. Its editorials on various topics gave its readers the food to think about their contemporary problems. On the whole it was a medium through which the ideals of nationalism were propagated. Although it was not financially successful, it was being regularly published from 1924 to the end of the Sawantwadi State and continues to be published these days.

There was another weekly, which was started by some leaders of the Bahujan Samaj of the State. The leaders of the Samaj were the pleader Patankar, B.S. Naik, Y.B. Shringare and Ravalojirao Ramrao Bhonsle Tirodkar. Their idea was to start a weekly called *Satyaprakash* with the object of bringing about the progress of the extremely backward class of the majority of the people of Sawantwadi. They had approached Trimbak Annaji Dharankar *alias* Bappa Dharankar who owned the Welcome Printing Press. Ravalojirao Bhonsle Tirodkar was to be the editor of *Satyaprakash* and Bappa Dharankar was the printer and publisher. Ravalojirao Bhonsle had to retire from the editorship before one year was out and Bappa Dharankar accepted the entire responsibility of the editor, printer and publisher.[6]

Satyaprakash had a larger subscription from Mumbai and Karachi than from Sawantwadi. A large number of people from the Mahratta community of Sawantwadi in these places had become donators to the newspaper.[7] *Satyaprakash* was first published on August 30, 1939, being the birthday of Raja Bahadur Shivram Sawant Bhonsle and it continued to be published till the day when it was destroyed by being set on fire.

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6. Mira Jadhav, "Swargiya Bappanchya Athwani - Patrakar Bappa", in *Satyaprakash*, Year 56, No. 1, January 30, 1995, p. 3.
7. *Ibid.*, Year 56, No. 4, February 27, 1995, p. 3.

It had championed the cause of the majority of the people of Sawantwadi who still continued to make their living with agriculture and horticulture. Their interests were different from those of the so-called middle classes who laid a stress on jobs, the professions and business. Dharankar appealed to the ownership of the agricultural land the greatest chunk of which they owned or cultivated. It was the practice of his weekly to champion those causes that affected them.

Dharankar was a man who had settled down at Nashik and used to come to Sawantwadi with the itinerary dramatic groups. These performed a list of plays with songs attuned to the learned traditions of music. He was a man of many parts who had the training of a poster painter, carpenter and a printer and managed to get the post of the teacher in charge of the old technical school in Sawantwadi.

Sawantwadi State and its constitutional position

There were in all five hundred and sixty-two Indian states under the British suzerainty, according to the Butler Committee and the Simon Commission. A large number of them, four hundred and fifty-two to be exact, were ridiculously small in area and income for being viable as independent states. There were, on the other hand, states like Hyderabad and Kashmir that were as big as the United Kingdom. It was only thirty of them that possessed the area, population and resources of an average district of today. The independent ruler of the State of Sawantwadi, like those of other states in various years, had signed the Subsidiary Treaty of 1919 with the British Government. While giving over the right of maintaining relations with other states in India or abroad or of maintaining an army for its defense, it had retained its independence in all other spheres. The laws made by the British Parliament for British India could not apply to the state. They were made applicable to the state when approved by it from time to time with modifications. The administration and judiciary within the state were independent of those of the British.

As we have seen, the British ignored the independence of Sawantwadi while taking over the right of the commercial and military road of Ramghat and of the right of levying customs within the state. When it was difficult for it to hold on to these rights, the British administration took over the *de facto* administration of the state while letting remain the *de jure* administration in the hands of the Raja. This was quite in accordance with the Doctrine of Lapse which was applied to the Chhatrapati of Satara and

the kingdoms of Jhansi and Nagpur, although the state was allowed to have its *de jure* independence. This was the policy under Dalhousie which continued to bring large parts of Indian states territory under the British till the uprising of 1857 made the rulers to realize the sanctity of the treaties of subsidiary alliance.

1857 and Queen's Proclamation of 1858

That the British Empire had learnt a lesson from the holocaust it had gone through was clear from the Proclamation of Queen Victoria in 1858. She said in the Proclamation that the British would sanction no encroachment on the dominion or the rights of the Indian Princes. She assured them that they would respect the rights, dignity and honour as their own. Lord Canning acknowledged the role of the states as "breakwaters in the storm which would have swept over us in one great wave." The British Parliament passed the Act for the better Government of India providing that "all treaties made by the Company shall be binding upon Her Majesty". This meant that the continuity of the ruling households was no longer in doubt. The Queen had made a change in the designation of the Governor General into Viceroy and Governor General.

Although the Indian states were treated as independent except for the restrictions put upon them by the treaties, yet there were developmental activities in communications, transport, railways, irrigation and other economic areas, which made the line of demarcation between the British, and the Indian states territories to be a hindrance to progress in these fields. But the British Indian Government, without taking any note of the feelings of the Princes, built the roads and the railways in the Indian states behaving as if it had control over the land. "Some of the Princes demurred and said openly that it was a breach of treaty rights, but their overt protests were brushed aside." Such conflicts of opinion arose about many other matters but in the interests of unified control and administration they were brushed aside.[8]Before the 1857 uprising, the British were "one of the powers in India. Now after the rebellion they became the paramount power in India, all other powers being strictly subordinate to it. ... Thus the former policy of `subordinate isolation' gave place to the policy of `subordinate union' between the Paramount Power and the princes."[9] The guarantee to protect a prince against insurrection

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8. R.L. Handa, *History of Freedom Struggle in Princely States*, p. 27.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 49.

remained but it carried with it "an obligation to inquire into the causes of the insurrection and to demand that the prince shall remedy legitimate grievances, and an obligation to prescribe the necessary remedy to this result."[10]

Narendra Mandal

As we have seen, the British Administration in Sawantwadi lacked the desire to rule *de facto* in the State in the 1870s because the lines of railway communication which they had provided had made the line of communication between north-east Karnataka, Ramghat and Vengurla unimportant. They began making arrangement for giving up their rule in the State by sending a Prince for training in the Rajkot Prince's College and giving him a part of the administration of the State. The next step was to take the entire training of Prince Khem Sawant Bhonsle up to the college level in England and to hand over to him the powers to rule over the State as an independent ruler in 1924. The Paramount Power conferred the title of Raja Bahadur, which had been denied to the nominal rulers by the British bureaucrats who used only Sardesai as the title, on him a few years later. Raja Bahadur Khem Sawant Bhonsle V made himself popular by his enlightened administration in the fields of education, health, malaria eradication, agriculture, industrial training, forests, social reforms and sports. The reforms were indeed noteworthy because they were in the initial stages and with limited resources. Besides, the Raja Bahadur had made himself extremely popular in the thirteen years of his career. He took a salary of Rupees two thousand initially and two thousand and five hundred later and moved about the villages meeting people. But there were hardly any political reforms by way of representative assembly as in the case of Oudh.

In the territory of British India, the political agitation had been advancing till the time had come to implement the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms. But the Indian states were carrying out their government with the assurance of full protection against internal uprising. The Montague-Chelmsford Reforms set up a Chamber of Princes or Narendra Mandal for mutual deliberations to give the rulers "the opportunity of informing the Government as to their sentiments and wishes, of broadening their outlook and conferring with one another and with the Government".[11]

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10. Butler Committee's Report, para 48.
11. V.P. Menon, *The Story of the Integration of the Indian States*, p. 15.

Would Princes be protected in Independent India?

But in spite of the realization that India would one day become a separate unit, the Princes refused to give up their dream of each state retaining their present status. They wished to retain the outdated system of one monarch ruling his state with his darbar without any elected representative of the people. They showed from their dealings in the Chamber of Princes that they would be protected by the Paramount Power to enjoy their limitless powers and privileges. Their insistence on sovereignty and independent status caused the British Viceroy Lord Reading to declare in his Despatch of March 26, 1926, "The sovereignty of the British Crown is supreme in India and, therefore, no ruler of an Indian State can justifiably claim to negotiate with the British Government on equal footing." The commotion which was stirred among the Princes caused the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes to say in November 1926 that the statement had been "perused with deep concern certain phrases implied and doctrines enunciated" in the Viceroy-Nizam correspondence. The Princes demanded an impartial enquiry into the whole relationship between the rulers and the Paramount Power. A committee was therefore appointed under Sir Harcourt Butler, which reported in 1929 that it did not accept the claim of the princes to sovereignty. The Butler Committee refused to define paramountcy and merely asserted that "paramountcy must remain paramount; it must fulfill its obligations, defining or adapting itself according to the shifting necessities of the time and the progressive development of the states." It also conceded that the rulers should not be handed over without their prior agreement, to Indian Government in British India responsible to an Indian legislature.[12] This laid the foundation of the policy, according to V.P. Menon, whereby, in later years, the wedge was to be effectively driven between the states and British India.[13]

In the first Round Table Conference in 1930, the Princes accepted the proposal for the creation of an All India Federation. And under the Government of India Act, 1935, they were allotted seats in both the Lower House and the Council of States in one-third and two-fifths of the British Indian elected members. But the members from the states were to be nominated by the rulers. "The princes remained adamant that they

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12. R.L. Handa, *op. cit.*, pp. 78-79.
13. V.P. Menon, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

themselves were the final arbiters of the destiny of their people and the best judges as to the kind of government their subjects should have."[14]

Agitation of All-India States People's Conference

The Indian states subjects numbered about seventy five million. And yet they had no political organization up to the first quarter of the twentieth century. The Indian National Congress did not represent them. At its Nagpur session held in 1920 the Congress had decided its policy of non-intervention in the internal affairs of the states. It was not prepared to take up their cause directly. The people of the states were disheartened by this attitude of the Congress and formed the All-India States People's Conference in Pune in 1927. The Princes banned the organization in the Indian states territory. It was only in 1945 that they could meet and carry out their activity in the state territory. In the years between, they had to meet outside in British Indian Territory. The Butler Committee, the Simon Commission, the Round Table Conferences and the Joint Parliamentary Committees also had ignored it.

There had been the establishment of the Deccan States Conference and various others like the Kathiawar States Political Conference and the Rajputana Seva Sangh. There had been conferences of the people of individual states like the Sangli States People's Conference, the Bhor Political Conference, the Janjira State Subjects Conference, the Miraj State People's Conference and many others. But after 1920, the states people realized the sympathy, which the Congress had for their desire to struggle against the states regime. They realized that it was only for tactical reasons that Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress wanted the people of the states to start a separate organization to voice their demands.

The state people's representatives organized a number of conferences at regional level. Balwantray Mehta provided the guidance to the people of various states. The press was flooded with pamphlets and bulletins. And the All-India States People's Conference was held in Mumbai on December 17, 1927. It voiced the demand for responsible government and civil liberties and was a remarkable success. Several sessions were held after this and they passed many important declarations and resolutions, published articles and books about the affairs of Patiala

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14. R.L. Handa, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

and Baroda and created an awareness of the governments under which the states subjects suffered. But although this atmosphere was not liked by a large section of the states people, it did not have any impact on the government of states. The princes were quite smug and complacent about the protection, which they believed was granted to them by the paramount power.

Khemraj V's attitude to nationalist consciousness

Khem Sawant V attended some sessions of the Chamber of Princes and moved a resolution mourning the death of his sister's husband, the Maharaja of Dhar. He was in continuous touch with some of the important Princes like those of Gwalior, Baroda, Dhar, Kolhapur, Jamkhindi and others. But he seems to have left the constitutional position of the state to be decided by the Chamber of Princes. The subjects of the state were quite satisfied with his rule. His concern for their welfare was very commendable. But he knew that nothing could be done with the limited resources available to the state.

He showed himself to be very friendly and respectful to Mahatma Gandhi when he visited Sawantwadi. In 1927, the British Government was not very fond of Mahatma Gandhi. But the great person was entertained as a guest by Khem Sawant V in the Royal Palace. He was given extreme honour and a donation of Rupees one thousand by the Raja for his work. When Gandhiji had gone from Sawantwadi to Kolhapur and had fallen ill, he was invited to spend one month in the Raja's Amboli bungalow. He allowed the Mahatma's secretary to go round the town to interview the people about the administration and his rule. He drove him in his car to important places in Amboli. And answered numerous questions of Gandhiji about his being a teetotaler and the amount he took as his salary. The interview received a laudatory notice in his magazine.

In 1932, Appasaheb Patwardhan was to deliver in Sawantwadi a lecture on the message of the Congress. But Khem Sawant V, instead of banning the meeting, had Patwardhan make some verbal changes in his speech on the basis of affection and the programme was implemented without any hitch. The straightforward answers given by the former Diwan of Sawantwadi, R.R. Shirgaonkar, to the letters from the Bombay Government regarding Civil Disobedience could not have been given without the consent of the Raja. These examples were not given by *Vainateya* as only of the spirited response but also of the self-respect and

political skill that was revealed by them.[15] This atmosphere in the State was in sharp contrast with that in Patiala. The Maharaja of that state had earned notoriety for his harem, orgies and autocratic rule. He was notorious for a number of cases of abduction of both married and unmarried women. His example inspired many of the Princes to look upon him as their hero. An official report brought out by the All-India States People's Conference about the Maharaja of Patiala deserves a special mention. And there were innumerable other instances of oppression and palpable misrule in Nawanagar, Dhrangadhra, Jhabua, Gondhal, Alwar, Bajana, Cutch, Loharu, Bikaner, Jodhpur, Hyderabad, Kashmir and many others. The relations between the Raja and the praja in Sawantwadi under Bapusaheb, as Khem Sawant V was known among the latter, could well be described as Ramrajya

When his wife, Rani Parvatibai Bhonsle, became the Regent, the World War II started within two years. Her regime stated on the same lines as her husband's, carrying forward the reforms and taking further some popular measures in view of the doubling of the State's revenues. But she and her son, Shivram Sawant Bhonsle, adopted the policy of the Chamber of Princes about the constitutional position of the states.

The Secretary of the Congress Committee informed the Diwan that there was no War Council established in Sawantwadi State as was wrongly been said in some newspapers. According to the news in *Navakal* of January 27, 1939, one Mudras went to Tulas on January 26 and was badly beaten by the Maratha Sardars. They said that he did not belong to their village. He hoisted the Congress flag but the Sardars said that they allowed the flag of the State to be hoisted.[16]

Viceroy proposes gradual representative governments

The princes, while agreeing to join a federation, insisted upon their rights and privileges. They made the point that the constitution should respect their treaty rights. They insisted that there should be no interference in their internal affairs.[17] The British Parliament, after a consideration of these reservations, passed the Government of India Act of 1935. It provided that the states' accession to the federation was to be

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15. *Vainateya*, August 25, 1942, Year 18, No. 39, p. 3.
16. *Sawantwadi State Records* (Hereafter *SSR*) */ R 9 / Sawantwadi Durbari Gazette* (Hereafter *SDG*) *1938-39*, February 1, 1939, Vol. 51, No. 13 Part 4, pp. 1-2.
17. V.P. Menon, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

effected by their Instrument of Accession which laid down that no authority over the states was given save such as flowed from the rulers' freely executed instrument. But the princes did not agree to join the federation because of fiscal items as they insisted on maintaining. [18] But the election handed over the powers to the Congress in eight provinces. The All-India State People's Conference and its various branches began to agitate more than ever before for responsible government in the state. The Deccan states, among the others, were active in the agitation. After a few years, the World War II broke out, and the Governor General declared without consulting the Provincial Governments that India was at war. The Congress governments resigned and the whole question of constitutional reforms was pushed into cold storage.

There was nothing heard on the states' front for about two years. But with Japan's attack on the Pearl Harbour and her joining on the side of the Axis Powers, the United Kingdom began efforts to get the support of Indian people in the war effort, if possible. Stafford Cripps came to India for making some efforts to arrive at some settlement of the constitutional problem, which may be acceptable to the British and the Indian people. The Congress referred to the states problem pleading for constitutional government in those territories. There could be no cooperation between democratic and feudal units in a federation of equal terms. But the Draft Plan was concerned with British India. It 'left the states virtually to adjust themselves to the new situation by "a revision of their treaty arrangements." ... It had deflated the position of the states as an insurmountable impediment to the establishmemt of responsible popular government at the Centre.'[19]

Then came the Quit India movement, which did not have any repercussions in Sawantwadi except generating the sympathy of the nationalist movement. The organization of a meeting in connection with the movement was banned by the State and this evoked a mild protest.

Centre proposes popular assembly in Sawantwadi State

On May 21, 1941, the Regent of Sawantwadi received a letter from the Resident for Kolhapur and the Deccan States saying that in the Deccan States Agency there were not more than two or three States,

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18. R.L. Handa, *op. cit.*, p. 175.
19. *Ibid.*, pp. 208-209.

which had not introduced an assembly. He informed her that he had recently visited Delhi and came to know that the question of the introduction of popular assemblies in Indian States was the one, which was engaging their close and urgent attention. He wanted to know if any progress had been made in the study of the question.[20]

What had been the causes of the delay in implementing the desire of the Government of India in introducing the popular assembly in the State was not known. What had been decided by the Regent a year and three months later was to establish a legislature in the State. That would be done because of the increasing aspirations of the people and giving them an opportunity to participate in the administration.[21]

Proposed merger of small States with larger ones

The Governor General of India had announced on April 15, 1943 that a scheme would be prepared to merge the smaller States with the larger States, which were closer to them in the geographical, economic and political point of view. The statement said that the States coming in the category of Indian States were in hundreds all over India. But since they were very small, their subjects could not be given the necessary amenities. In order to face the situation in tackling the administrative difficulties which arose from this situation, it was decided to adopt that scheme. In order to bring that plan as close as possible, Lieutenant Colonel G.P. Williams of the India Political Services was appointed as Special Officer.[22]

Sawantwadi State Representative Assembly

On April 1, 1943, Parvatibai Bhonsle, the Regent Ranisaheb of Sawantwadi, sanctioned the order by which the subjects of Sawantwadi State would be associated with its administration and legislation. The act was called The Sawantwadi Representative Assembly Act, Act No II of 1943 and it created Sawantwadi State Representative Assembly. The Diwan of the State would be the ex-officio President of the Assembly and the Assembly would elect one of its members as Deputy President. Every Assembly should continue for three years. The Ruler might dissolve the

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20. *SR/R 15/F. No. 56/1/ADM-2 H.H.*, Sawantwadi State Representative Assembly. D.O. No. Camp-48/41 dated May 21, 1941 to Parvatibai Bhonsle by P. Gaisford
21. *Vainateya*, September 1, 1942, Year 18, No. 40, p. 3.
22. *Vainateya*, April 20, 1943, Year 19, No. 21, p. 3.

Assembly at any time but the next session should be held within six months.[23]

The members were given freedom of speech in the Assembly and no member or officer of the Durbar would be liable to any proceedings in any Court of Law for anything said or any vote given by him in the Assembly or any Committee of it. Nothing contained in the Act should derogate from or interfere with the rights of the Ruler in relation to the Government of his territories. The Ruler was declared to possess the prerogative to make and pass Acts, proclamations and orders at his discretion.[24]

The Assembly might make laws for the whole State and for the subjects of the State. No Bill should be introduced which affects the Ruling family and the rights granted to Inamdars and Watandars by their Sanads. The Ruler might return the Bill when it was sent to him after the Assembly passed it and the Assembly might reconsider it. The Budget would be laid before the Assembly, which would be discussed by it. But no motion should be moved on the Budget nor would it be submitted to the vote of the Assembly. The Budget should not be open to discussion in respect of the Palace and Privy Purse.[25]

The age of voting should be twenty-one. There were sixteen members of the Assembly of which thirteen were of the Hindu population and one each belonging to the Christian and Muslim communities and one belonging to Education. The Ruler reserved to himself the power to alter the nominated official and non-official members.[26]

Regent Ranisaheb published the Sawantwadi State Legislative Assembly Act by issuing an Extraordinary Budget on her birthday. The Legislative Assembly was to have in all twenty-eight members, sixteen of them being elected and twelve being nominated by the Government. There would not be more than six officers nominated by the Government. For the qualification to vote, one would have to own land which had to pay a revenue of eight rupees or been a sharer in the land or been an owner of a house costing Rs. 450 or the payer of rent of Rs. 18 per annum or had

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23. *SSR/R 15/F.No. 56/1/ADM-2 H.H.*, Sawantwadi State Representative Assembly, The Sawantwadi State Representative Assembly Act, Act No. II of 1943. Sections 10(2), 12(2) and (3).
24. *Ibid.*, Sections 20(1), 28 and 29.
25. *Ibid.*, Sections 30(1), 31, 34(1) and 35(1).
26. *Ibid.*, Schedule I.

passed the entrance examination of the Bombay University or passed the final examination of primary school or was a military pensioner. And for women and Harijans there were milder tests than these. Besides, there was an age limit of twenty-one years.[27]

Disapproval of powerlessness of Legislative Assembly

The *Vainateya* had pointed out that under Article 31 of the Act there were ten classes of matters, which were kept completely outside the jurisdiction of the Legislative Assembly. Even a resolution or amendment or a question could not be moved on those matters on the floor of the House. These matters were (1) any political figure, (2) the relations between the Sawantwadi Darbar and the British Government, (3) the treaties etc., between the Sovereign States, (4) the armed forces, (5) the laws or ordinance or order issued by a political authority, (6) the behavior of a judicial authority in relation to his duties, (7) the surrender of an accused to the British Government, (8) the religious rights or customs of a community, (9) the special rights given to Inamdars and Vatandars and (10) improvement laws and the rules made under them. In the month of July, the State budget would be placed in the House and the members would have the freedom to discuss it. But the Legislative Assembly would not have the right to pass resolutions or vote on the budget. The members had no rights to speak on (1) the expenditure incurred on politics, (2) the expenditure incurred on the Superior Government or other heads of State, (3) the expenditure incurred on the relations of the Ruler, (4) the expenditure incurred in terms of Treaties, (5) the salaries of employees of Government and their pensions, (6) the interest on loans of the Government, (7) the expenditure of the military and (8) the expenditure to be incurred under any law. The Legislature would have the rights of passing resolutions, which would have the force of recommendation and would not have the compulsion of implementing them. The condition of the law-making authority and other type of resolution was no different from the resolutions on the economic control. There was no concession of any final control.[28]

There would be no compulsion on the Government to obey any law, which had been passed by the Legislative Assembly because such passing of an Act was only recommendatory. If under Article 28 and 29

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27. *Vainateya*, April 27, 1943, Year 19, No. 22, p. 2.
28. *Vainateya*, May 4, 1943, Year 19, No. 23, p. 2.

such an Act were made applicable, the Government would have the unimpaired authority to make laws and issue ordinances without asking for permission of the Legislature. Besides, Article 93 of the Indian Constitution could abolish the temporary Constitution and take all the rights in its own hands and according to this the Darbar reserved the right to themselves. One could admire the courage of the Executive Council to draft such a meaningless Constitution, said the *Vainateya*, but it was especially unimpressive to the progressive and perpetual reputation of Sawantwadi.[29]

Common High Court for the Deccan States

It was announced by the Government of India that a Common High Court should be established for the Deccan States. A meeting was held in that connection of the Deccan States and their representatives. The Sar-nyayadhish Shri Bhaskar attended it on behalf of Sawantwadi. That the Chieftains of the States interfered in the administration of justice and in many cases the judges obliged them was the belief of the people. The people believed that a judge should not be subject to the will of the State Chieftain and that a Senior Judge of all the States should be appointed to head the State judiciaries.[30]

In Sawantwadi State the conditions were different from the reign of Khemraj II. From his time onward a High Court of two Judges was appointed every year of the rank of the District Judge or the Small Causes Court. It was the custom to believe that the judgment given unanimously by this Court was to be the final judgment of the Law Courts in the State. The Royal powers in the State could not interfere in this judgment. If the other States looked upon this system of administration of justice as ideal then they would not feel that their rulership might be restricted by social unity. They would consider it to be their duty to implement the system of administration of justice, which was more clear and deserving of the respect of the people.[31]

The Malewad dacoity case was decided in February 1943. The accused Sardar Ravalogirao Ramrao alias Bhaiya Saheb Tirodkar and eight other associates were sentenced to eight years rigorous imprisonment and fine. The conviction of an influential nobleman to rigorous imprisonment by the High Court, a punishment which was

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29. *Ibid.*
30. *Vainateya*, July 13, 1943, Year 19, No. 33, p. 2.
31. *Ibid.*

imposed publicly and the Sardar was made to labour rigorously with the other convicts in the open, had already impressed the people with the justice in the State.[32]

The Regent Ranisaheb of Sawantwadi notified that on February 23, 1946 that under the High Court of Judicature Act (Sawantwadi Act VI of 1945) she had appointed Sir Harshidbhai Vijubhai Deevatia as Chief Justice of the Joint High Court of Kolhapur and the Deccan States of Bhor, Phaltan. Akalkot, Mudhol and Sawantwadi.[33] R.R. Powar had been appointed Diwan of Sawantwadi State in 1946.

World War II ends and Labour Party wins elections in U.K.

The war ended in 1945 and the Labour Party won the elections in the United Kingdom. The political atmosphere had changed in India when subsequently Atlee indicated that the British Government meant business in dealing with the Indian problem.

The last two sessions of the All-India States People's Conference were held in two of the states, in Udaipur in 1945 and Gwalior in 1947. At Udaipur, the conference felicitated Aundh, Cochin, Gwalior and Bhavnagar for voluntarily conceding reforms. At the Gwalior session there was rejection of the proposed grouping of some rulers of the Deccan states. It was for the people of the states to decide their future and not for the princes. It was for the popular representatives of the states, it was demanded, that were to be present in the Constituent Assembly, not the ones nominated by the princes.

We have to refer to the Parliamentary Delegation and Cabinet Mission in India at this time. The princes had only their own prerogatives, status and privileges to be discussed and the States Department's job was easier for getting the states to accede to India.

Other important political events

There was a discussion on November 28, 1946 at Sawantwadi with Lieutenant Colonel Harvey on Akalkot, Mudhol and Sawantwadi joining the Federation of The Deccan States, how the Federation of the States would be necessary, how the different States were to join the Deccan States Federation, the interim government of the Federation and the

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32. *Vainateya*, February 23, 1943, Year 19, No. 13, p. 3.
33. *SSR/R 32/F.567*.

establishment of a High Court immediately. There was a justification of the project in Sawantwadi.[34]

The Sawantwadi State Praja Parishad was held successfully at Banda on December 28 and 29, 1946. The well-known Congress worker from Ahamednagar, Bhausaheb Patwardhan, presided over the conference.[35]

It was announced on May 12, 1947 that Raja Shivram Sawant Bhonsle Bahadur Sardesai Kudal and Mahalanihai had taken the administration of the Sawantwadi State in his hands.[36]

The Police had registered a charge sheet before the Magistrate in connection of the raid on the *Vainateya* in November 1946. The case was filed against M.D. Shirodkar and his wife Sushilabai. The charges were the misuse of the newsprint supplied under the Newsprint Control Order for commercial purposes.[37]

Inaugural session of Representative Assembly

It had been announced by the Diwan earlier that the Inaugural Session of the Representative Assembly of Sawantwadi State would be held in the Darbar Hall on March 29, 1946. He had declared that Her Highness the Regent Ranisaheb Maharaj would deliver the Inaugural Address of the Assembly and a Guard of Honour with the Armed Police Force and Band would be given.[38]

The private expenditure had increased from only Rs. 40,000 to Rs. 1,25,000. The Divan seemed to have forgotten that in the 1946-47 budget, this expenditure was shown as Rs. 1,75,000. The other problem that had become important was the honour that was to be shown to Regent Ranisaheb. The bigwigs of the government were going about to people to collect large sums from them.[39]

The budget of the State for 1947-48 showed an income of Rs. 11,98,392. It was made up of Land Revenue Rs. 3,34,700, Crown Lands

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34. *Vainateya*, December 3, 1946, Year 23, No. 1, p. 3.
35. *Vainateya*, January 7, 1947, Year 23, No. 6, p. 3.
36. *Vainateya*, May 13, 1947, Year 23, No. 24, p. 5.
37. *Vainateya*, July 22, 1947, Year 23, No. 34, p. 5.
38. *SSR/R 15/F.No. 56/1/ADM-2 H.H.*, Sawantwadi State Representative Assembly, No. 5733 dated March 27, 1946, Memo: to the Khangi Karbhari, Darbar Branch from Diwan, Sawantwadi State.
39. *Vainateya*, January 7, 1947, Year 23, No. 6, p. 7.

(Sayal Bab) Rs. 25,773, Exise Rs. 4,25,952, Forest Rs. 1,06,292, Income Tax Rs. 50,000, Stamps Rs. 69,350, State Bank Rs. 12,000, Octroi etc., Rs. 1,11,280, Interest Rs. 28,000 and other incomes. The expenditure was to be Rs. 12,13,606. It consisted of Land Revenue Rs. 81,842, Exise Rs. 24,038, Forest Rs. 70,494, Darbar Rs. 1,00,000, State Administration Rs. 93,437, Judiciary Rs. 63,952, Prison Rs. 9,262, Police Rs. 1,26,550, Stamps Rs. 10,500, Medical Rs. 28,122, Education Rs. 1,42,539, Agriculture and Village Development Rs. 15,626, Printing and Stationary Rs. 21,532, Stables (Paga) Rs. 13,776, Public Works Rs. 1,09,500, Pension Fund Rs. 37,200, Confiscated Appointments Rs. 50,977 and other expenditure.[40]

The *Vainateya* while assessing the budget pointed out that the amount of salaries of the Political Department was increased from about Rs. 35 to 40,000 to Rs. 1,35,000 for 1945-46, Rs. 1,75,000 for 1946-47 and for the next year it had been shown as Rs. 1,80,000. Besides the Sheri (Crown Lands) income had been transferred from last year to the Khajgi (Personal) income and thus about 60,000 had been added to it. In addition to that, the expenditure of the Darbar, Rs. 35,404, Paga (Stables) Rs. 13,776, Religious Charities Rs. 2,600, Hospitality Rs.4,756, Religious Ceremonies Rs. 4,300, Paras Khana (Toilet) Rs. 2,092, Donations and Subscriptions Rs. 7,325 were for the Royal family expenditure. The total amount incurred for their expenditure came to more than Rs. 3,09,000. In addition to that, the Public Works Department, Medical Department and other departments had to spend for the Royal family. In the amount of Rs. 9,500 in the Budget for the Intellectual Section, the amount of nearly Rs. 6,000 was to be spent on the people connected with the Royal family in the Palace. The Public Works Department had arranged to do the repairs to Mhadev Bhatlem. How that proportion of private expenditure was inconsistent with a budget of Rs. 12,00,000 does not require to be stressed. That the Budget did not have the vision of democracy, did not have the plan of increasing the administrative efficiency, nor did it have the vexed question of the toiling workers. The government seemed to have had the will to use the poor people's money in squandering it over the Royal family.[41]

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40. *Vainateya*, July 15, 1947, Year 23, No. 33, p. 1.
41. *Vainateya*, July 15, 1947, Year 23, No. 33, p. 5.

On July 15, the budget was discussed in the session of the Sawantwadi State Representative Assembly but it was voted upon. A.S. Pandit and S.S. Khanolkar criticized the general budget and the huge expenditure of the Royal family.[42]

An Extraordinary Gazette of July 14, 1947 announced that the Sawantwadi State Representative Assembly Amendment Act would establish a Standing Committee. The Standing Committee would have five members out of which three would be elected by the members, excepting officials who had been selected by the Government, or were elected by the people or by the Government. The Government from among members who were not officials would select the remaining two members of the Standing Committee. The Chairman of the Committee would be an official selected by the Rajasaheb. He would cast his vote only in case of an equal division of the votes. The Diwan would appoint the Secretary of the Standing Committee. The control and administration of the following departments would be with Standing Committee: (1) Education with the exception of Technical School and High Schools which taught students for the Matriculation Examination, (2) Devasthan including Otavne Devasthan, Talavne Math, Government Maths and the Devasthans which belonged to the State, (3) Village Development Cooperative Societies, (4) Dispensaries excepting State General Hospital and the Anti-Malaria Department of the entire State, (5) Sawantwadi Municipality, and (6) Local Self Government. The Standing Committee would spend the amount allocated by the budget.[43]

Food situation worsens

A morcha had been brought to Sawantwadi to get enough of food grains. The new Raja had to state that the Sawantwadi State had to depend on food grains from outside. He would however try his best to avoid such a situation.[44]

The food situation was bad all over Sawantwadi, announced the Publicity Officer on September 16, 1947. The Raja had been at Bombay to see his relation, the Maharaja of Dhar, who had been operated upon. Since the shops in Sawantwadi had remained closed on September 7, 1947 because of the shortage of grain, some 1,200 people of Ajgaon and

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42. *Vainateya*, July 22, 1947, Year 23, No. 36, p. 2.
43. *Vainateya*, July 22, 1947, Year 23, No. 34, p. 4.
44. *SSR/R 10 / SDG / 1947-48*, September 15, 1947, Vol. 60, No. 4, Part I, p. 17.

Nirawade had a morcha on the Palace. They wanted three-fourth seer per person.[45]

On October 2, 1947, there were people of Malewad and Nemle to see Raja Shivram Sawant. Hasansaheb Herekar and Dharankar, the editor of *Satyaprakash*, were also there. The people made certain demands, which the Government agreed to consider.[46]

Partition of India and Hindu Muslim riots

The Partition of India by the formation of Pakistan caused unprecedented riots and the Hindus and Muslims of India and Pakistan had to flee from one into the other. There was a tremendous number of Sikhs, Sindhis and Hindus who had to leave their homes in Pakistan and flee with their lives as refugees to various towns of India. Most of the refugees came to Mumbai and other big cities of India. But the people of Sawantwadi who had settled in Karachi for more than seventy years started returning to the State in utter destitution. A Refugee Officer had to be appointed and a reception of refugees from Karachi and other regions had to be started.[47]

Shri Jagatguru Ramamig Saraswati had come to Sawantwadi and he was given a reception with Ranisaheb Parvatibai presiding over the function in the College Hall. She said in the presidential speech that their Hindu religion was great in the world and that the Swami had given the society the message of unity.[48]

Shivramraje Bhonsle delivered a speech on the Vijaya Dashami day of the Rashtriya Seva Sangh (R.S.S.) on October 5, 1947. He praised the R.S.S. ideology to create a strong Hindu society.[49]

Shivramraje Bhonsle had sanctioned Rs. 1,50,000 for establishing gram panchayats, supplying medicines, taking anti-malaria measures and bringing about agricultural improvements.[50]

The Kharif production for the year 1947 would be normal. The people did not have any grains left over from the last year. The production

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45. *Ibid.*, September 16, 1947, Extraordinary No. 4, pp. 7-8.
46. *Ibid.*, October 15, 1947, Vol. 60, No. 6, Part 4, pp. 2-3.
47. *SSR/R 10 / SDG 1947-48*, October 15, 1947, Vol. 60, No. 6, Part 4, p. 4.
48. *Ibid.*, p. 5.
49. *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.
50. *SSR/R 10 / SDG 1947-48*, October 15, 1947, Vol. 60, No. 6, Part 4, p. 8.

that year would be 21,000 tons. And for half a seer ration, the State would need 36,000 tons.[51]

Mountbatten announces power to India and Pakistan

In the meanwhile, Lord Mountbatten had announced on June 3, 1947 that His Majesty's Government would be prepared to relinquish power to India and Pakistan on the basis of the Dominion Status. The Cabinet of the Interim Government set up the States Department on July 5, 1947 with Sardar Vallabhai Patel as the Minister in charge. The Sardar assured the states that "no more was asked of them than accession on the three subjects of Defence, Foreign Affairs and Communications." "He further assured them that the states would be dealt with fairly in a spirit of equality and only considerations of mutual interest and welfare would weigh with the States Department. In a strain of realism, however, Patel added that an alternative to cooperation in the general interest was anarchy and chaos which would overwhelm great and small in a common ruin if the states and provinces were unable to act together in the minimum of common tasks."[52]

The Viceroy called a meeting of the Chamber of Princes on July 25, 1947. A Negotiating Committee was set up to negotiate the terms of states' accession to India. The Instrument of Accession was framed between the States Department and the prince's representative.[53] According to Vallabhai Patel and Lord Mountbatten's advice to the princes, the rulers of all the states geographically contiguous to India had signed the Instrument of Accession and the Standstill Agreement by August 15, 1947.[54]

On August 15, 1947, the Indian Dominion had been declared as an Independent State. But the future of the Indian States was yet to be decided by the subjects themselves. A constituent assembly was to process the constitution of the Indian Dominion, which would soon be on. But the constitution of Sawantwadi State as of others had not been made since the Regent had not given its constitution to the Sawantwadi State Representative Assembly. It was therefore decided to establish a

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51. *SSR/R 10 / SDG 1947-48*, October 10, 1947 Extra, No. 8, pp. 14-15.
52. R.L. Handa, *op. cit.*, pp. 294-96.
53. *Ibid.*, p. 296.
54. *Ibid.*, p. 295.

Constitution Committee representing all castes and communities to effect a wide transfer of power to the people.

New Constitution for Sawantwadi to be framed

The Ranisaheb, while addressing meetings at Malgaon and Charathe, emphasized that the State had maintained peace among the various sections. The question was how to get food and clothes. She said that a new constitution was being framed and all would be given a vote.[55]

Raja claims Sheri Thikans as private property

The order was issued by the Government that the officer appointed by the Darbar should continue to exercise the same powers in respect of and for the purpose of recovery of rent, profits and other sums due in respect of all kinds of Sheri Thikans in the State which were then the private property of His Highness Rajasaheb as they used to exercise in the past when the income of the Sheri Thikan was considered as part of the State revenue. This Act should cease to have operation when other arrangements should be made for the management of Sheri Thikans and when the management by the State would have ceased.[56]

After taking over the administration of the State on May 12, 1947, he issued a Jahir Patrak and appointed on September 6, 1947 a Constitutional Advisory Committee of people of various parties and religions. He announced on December 7, 1947 at Konapul and Tulas that he was completely in agreement with "responsible government".[57]

There was a morcha from Ajgaon and some of the Praja Parishad supporters demanded that there should be an effective popular control of a man elected on State's Supply Department. The State agreed to this suggestion and invited the President of the Municipality to occupy the post. But he insisted on the Praja Parishad to be consulted as they had insisted on a member of the responsible government to be nominated. So the attempt could not succeed.[58]

The function of presenting a purse to Parvatibai Bhonsle was then broached. It was to be presented at the hands of the Chhatrapati of Kolhapur who was to come for the inter-school athletic competition in

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55. *SSR/R 10 / SDG 1947-48*, November 15, 1947, Vol. 60, No. 8, Part 4, pp. 15-16.
56. *SSR/R 10 / SDG 1947-48*, January 15, 1948, Vol. 60, No. 12, Part I-A, pp. 25.
57. *Ibid.*, Part 4, p. 28.
58. *Ibid.*, pp. 28-29.

Sawantwadi of the Deccan States of Southern Maharashtra. A sum of Rs. 60,000 was collected and the people were expecting it to be spent on them. But the programme of giving the purse was opposed because it was felt that officials of Government had brought pressure on the people to contribute. It was decided by the people to take out morchas on the fifteenth.[59]

Rivalry of Praja Parishad and Shetkari Seva Sangh

There were two political parties in the State, one called the Praja Parishad and the other Shetkari Seva Sangh. The Shetkari Seva Sangh insisted that the impending transfer of power should be made to them as they had the support of the majority in the State. Or, as a compromise, they should get half the representation. But the Praja Parishad said they represented the entire population of the States. They were not prepared to accept the importance of the Shetkari Seva Sangh. The Government took the view that "The position of the Sangh was straight, constitutional and compromising whereas that of the Praja Parishad was oppositional." The Government said that it was not possible to make a decision in a day on the constitutionally important matter and to decide on making the transfer of power to one of the two parties.[60]

The Shetkari Seva Sangh was started only a few years before by Dharankar, who, as we have noticed, was the editor of *Satyaprakash*, a weekly started by him to champion the cause of the Mahrattas, who were in an overwhelming majority in the State. He was certainly encouraged by the Regent Ranisaheb and he sided with the policies in favour of the ruling Mahrattas in the rural areas. It is very difficult to ensure a correct picture of the political scene, which was simmering in Sawantwadi at the time of a few years during the merger. This was because the back numbers of *Satyaprakash* were set to fire on the day the merger of the State into the Indian Union took place. But it should be clear from the support that Shetkari Seva Sangh received from the former Regent and from Shivram Sawant in the negotiations with the Praja Parishad that they sided with the former Ruler in the State. The Government wanted to perpetuate their rule by taking the help of the Sardars and officials. And these influential people wanted to enjoy their current privileges by assisting the Government to continue its rule with only a few changes in the constitution that would be

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59. *Ibid.*, pp. 29-30.
60. *Ibid.*, pp. 30-31.

necessary. The British had given them the opportunity of forming a larger state by combining themselves with the other Deccan States to form the Deccan States of Southern Maharashtra. They were to enact their own constitution in which they would have their privileges sanctified. They would have their own constitution, which would be different from the democratic constitution, which was sure to be enacted by the Constituent Assembly of New Delhi for the rest of the country.

The Praja Parishad, on the other hand, was the political party of the Indian States. The Praja Parishad was the organization that was closely associated with the Indian National Congress. It had funds to organize the people in a wide political party. It had workers organized in small units, which met continuously in villages especially in the previous ten years and especially during the Quit India movement. These units had their organization at different levels till they met at the regional and national levels. Their national and regional policies were enacted, conveyed and implemented up to the lowest ranking unit. They would thus actualize their support to the policies they wanted to implement. The Praja Parishad when established in Sawantwadi began spreading its roots in smaller villages where they had the Congress presence. The Praja Parishad was therefore more powerful than the poor Shetkari Seva Sangh and could get more support from the people. The claim of the Shetkari Seva Sangh was based on the majority who could have become their supporters. But it needed much more organization than could be possible with a small organization. The claim of Shetkari Seva Sangh to claim the majority in the State was in fact not true of the expected majority in the Assembly.

The Sawantwadi Raja was playing the game of the Chieftains of the other States. The decision was made on December 12, 1947 by Rajasaheb to concede 'responsible government'. It was announced that according to the system of government, the new elected temporary government would come into existence on January 20, 1948. And then the adult electorate would vote in the general election and a new constitution committee and a new ministry would come into existence. But the Praja Parishad did not respond to it.[61]

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61. *Ibid.*, p. 31.

Ghoshna amanya ka ?

The Rajasaheb issued a statement saying that in every nation, in which there was responsible constitution, the King had some inherent powers and, during a temporary government, he had certain reserved rights that remained till the ultimate government was formed. What those reserved rights and authorities were should be advised by the parties. If the parties did not agree on that, he would have to appoint on his own responsibility an all-party temporary government.[62]

The Praja Parishad responded to that statement by issuing a circular that was entitled *Ghoshana amanya ka?* (Why the declaration cannot be agreed to). It said that the declaration of the Rajasaheb was not trustworthy. On the declaration and the ceremony to be held on 15, they declared a boycott and continued their opposition.[63]

Purse to Parvatibai was cancelled to avoid riots

There were meetings in the villages and intentions were expressed of showing black flags to the Chhatrapati of Kolhapur. And Parvatibai Bhonsle declared that the purse giving ceremony would not take place to avoid the possible riots.[64]

The Regional Commissioner of Kolhapur arrived on 14 and advised the Praja Parishad to drop the boycott and the hartal as the purse giving ceremony had been called off. The Praja Parishad agreed to this.[65]

But on the next day, some shops remained close. A big morcha from Kudal had a procession through Sawantwadi. Shetkari Seva Sangh also had morchas from several villages. There was a Shetkari Seva Sangh's morcha under the leadership of its Secretary Shringare. There was a disturbance when some attacked them and Shringare was badly beaten up.[66]

On the same day, there had come some 8 to 10,000 people from the villages to watch the ceremony. There was a meeting that was held under the presidentship of Shamrao Desai, editor of *Rashtravir*. There was insistence in the meeting that the purse giving ceremony should be done

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62. *Ibid.*, p. 31.
63. *Ibid.*, p. 31.
64. *Ibid.*, p. 31.
65. *Ibid.*, p. 31.
66. *Ibid.*, p. 34.

on the same day. But it was persuaded that the issue should be set aside for the moment. They showed their appreciation of the announcement by the Rajasaheb of "responsible government" and said that since the majority was on their side, the power should be transferred to them. These resolutions were sent to the Rajasaheb.[67]

Negotiating Committee appointed for Interim Government

On December 22, 1947, the Rajasaheb appointed a Negotiating Committee consisting of the Diwan, Sarnyayadhish and Huzur Secretary. It was declared that the Committee, after negotiating with the parties, should give their report about the Interim Government, which was to come into effect according to the declaration of December 12, 1947. On December 27, 1947, the Rajasaheb appointed A.B. Lathe as an adviser and announced that the parties should, if necessary, take his advice.[68]

The Government declared that the Shetkari Seva Sangh showed a complete understanding with the Negotiating Committee and had placed their position constitutionally. The Praja Parishad took up the challenge and started taking meetings in the villages. They mobilized them against the Durbar and vigorously started the work of enrolling more members. The date of appointing Interim Government was only 8 or 10 days from that time.[69]

The market rates had been given publicity as usual for the first fortnight of February. Coconuts were sold at five per rupee, wheat of the white variety was 2.20 seers a rupee, rice ganvthi new was 1.60 a rupee, coconut oil 14 annas a seer, ghee two rupees and a half for a pound, kerosene five rupees and annas nine per tin, milk two seers a rupee, mutton one rupee per pound, eggs eight per rupee. cock three rupees and chicken two rupees, surangi valesar eight per rupee, shevanti 150 per rupee, tea two rupees and a half per pound, gur four annas per ghanti pound and sugar Johnson small at eight annas and six paise per pound.[70]

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67. *Ibid.*, p. 34.
68. *Ibid.*, p. 34.
69. *Ibid.*, p. 34.
70. *SR/R 10 / SDG 1947-48*, February 2, 1948, Vol. 60, No. 13, Part 2, pp. 62-65. From February 1 to 15, 1948 in the Sawantwadi bazaar.

Criticism in the Press

A public explanation was published by the Government for the "unnecessary criticism" published on January 1, 1948 by *Vainateya, Prabhat, Lokashakti, Lokamanya*, etc., newspapers and weeklies. They were entitled, "What is happening in Sawantwadi", *"Darbarchya Karvaya"*, *"Vilinikarana Purvinchi Nirvanirav"*, and *"Sawantwadikaranchi Nirvanirav"*. It said that the ruling family expenditure had increased in recent years because of a price rise due to the war. In the last year, there was a rise in Khasgi expenditure all of a sudden. That was because of the Resident's order separating Civil List from State Budget.[71]

It said that there was no proof to the income of Rs. 1,00,000 from Sheri Thikans that was alleged by *Vainateya*. The income was Rs. 60,000. Out of that income was to be paid Rs. 15,000 as *sheridhara*, Rs. 2,700 as local fund, and Rs. 4,200 as the management expenditure and Rs. 10,000 as the band *bandobast, sur* etc. This added up to Rs. 31,900. The net profit came to Rs. 28,100.[72]

In most States, Sheri Thikans were the private property of rulers. They had freedom from Government revenue. In Sawantwadi about Rs. 18,000 would be paid as *sheri dhara* and local fund. The Viceroy had been considering the ruler's request that the lands should be given to them. The Viceroy's decision had been received only a few days before. Khem Sawant V had not given much attention to it as private property as the income of the State had been too little to cover the expenditure of reforms. The result of that was the rightful income of the ruler's family had been shared by the State. They should take into consideration the loss suffered by that by the ruler's family.[73]

The Darbar also gave an explanation of what was said of the Supply Department making profits of lakhs of rupees, which it was alleged, were being swallowed. But Rs. 1,00,000 had been spent on the godown, Rs. 3,00,000 had been distributed, Rs. 25,000 had been spent for increasing agricultural production, Rs. 1,50,000 were spent on village development and Rs. 1,25,000 for improvements in the towns.74

What was said of the jewelry of the State had been proved as false. In the treasury had been kept the jewels, gold and silver ornaments and

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71. *SSR/R 10 / SDG 1947-48*, February 2, 1948, Vol. 60, No. 13, Part 4, p. 37.
72. *Ibid.*
73. *Ibid.*

vessels which were the private property of the Ranis. Some presents received by the rulers were also kept in the Treasury. It should not be wondered if one or two buildings had been purchased in those circumstances.[74]

Raja explains the running of future Constitution

In the speech concluding the fifth session of Sawantwadi Samsthan Representative Assembly the Maharaj Sarkar asserted that the political responsibility should be that of representatives of the people. He said that the King should maintain his position as the constitutional monarch and that principle he accepted completely. Till the Constituent Assembly should be elected, the reserved rights were for carrying out his responsibilities. In the Constitution also, he affirmed, the responsibilities would be reserved.[75]

Details about the formation of the Constituent Assembly elected on the basis of adult franchise for the purposes of running the future constitution of the State were announced in the Durbari Gazette dated January 10, 1948. The Treaties with the Dominion Government of India and the other States of India and Agreements with them in respect of matters of cooperation and administration should be entered into, altered, or terminated by His Highness in consultation with the Ministry. His Highness would declare an emergency in the event of a break down of the Constitution with the advice of the Ministry. Privy Purse of His Highness, and Privy Purse allowances of his relations were not to be altered by the Constitution of the State. It was however expressly understood that the civil list of the Ruler would be based on certain recognized principles and it would not exceed 15 per cent of the gross revenues of the State. The customary dignities, rights, privileges and prerogatives of His Highness and members of his family would continue in accordance with existing treaties, agreements, conventions and usages.[76] An Interim Ministry was appointed with W.E. Pereira as the Prime Minister.

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74. *Ibid.*

75. *SSR/R 10 / SDG 1947-48*, February 2, 1948, Vol. 60, N0. 13, Part 4, p. 40.

76. *SSR/R 10 / SDG 1947-48*, February 19, 1948 Extraordinary, No. 37, pp. 69-70. No. 519 dated February 19, 1948, Huzur Office.

Merger of Sawantwadi State in the Dominion of India

On February 22 and 23, 1948, there was an uprising by the Praja Parishad in protest of the new government. People went to the police lines and captured the rifles from the armoury. They went to the known supporters and officers of the Raja, took their arms into custody and arrested them. The whole town of Sawantwadi was in their hands. So was the town of Kudal. Meghnad Shirodkar was one of the leaders of the morcha in Sawantwadi. The procession went to Kolgaon and surrounded the house, the Welcome Printing Press and the office of *Satyaprakash*, which belonged to Anna Dharankar. They set fire to the *Satyaprakash*, the press and the house. The back numbers of *Satyaprakash* were also destroyed. The procession then wended its way to Shaikh Baba's house. He had been the Chief Police Officer of the State and had been the most deserving of punishment at the hands of the nationalists. A parallel government had been established in the capital of the Sawantwadi State. They had already established a contact with the Bombay Government. Consequently, Raja Shivram Sawant Bhonsle begged that the state be merged with the Dominion of India and the territory be joined to the Bombay Province.

M.K. Jadhav, the District Magistrate of Belgaum had assumed charge on February 24, 1948 as the District Magistrate, Belgaum and Sawantwadi on behalf of the Indian Dominion of the entire administration of Sawantwadi State. A curfew had been declared for seven days and no one was allowed to move in Sawantwadi and Kudal from 8 p.m. till 6 a.m. Article 144 had been declared for ten days and coming together of five or more persons was prohibited.[77]

The Rajasaheb of Sawantwadi declared that he was handing over the law and order of Sawantwadi State to Government of Bombay with effect from March 1, 1948.[78]

The people were warned that if they were found with illegal arms and ammunition belonging to the State or otherwise beyond February 29, 1948, they would be severely dealt with.[79] The curfew order was extended by seven more days.[80] And again the curfew was extended for 15 days

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77. *Ibid.*, February 25, 1948 Extraordinary, No. 42 p. 76 and p. 79
78. *Ibid.*, February 26, 1948, Extraordinary, No. 43, p. 81.
79. *Ibid.*, February 27, 1948 Extraordinary, No. 44, p. 82.
80. *Ibid.*, March 2, 1948 Extraordinary, No. 46.

more from March 5, 1948.[81] The Popular Ministry, which was created on February 19, 1948, and the State Representative Assembly were dissolved with effect from March 7, 1948.[82] All offices, schools and Courts were closed on March 8, 1948 to celebrate the merger of the State in the Indian Dominion.[83] And finally, under Article I of the Agreement of the Merger, it was notified that the administration of the Sawantwadi State was handed over to the Collector of Ratnagiri with effect from March 8, 1948 by order of His Highness the Rajasaheb of Sawantwadi.[84]

So the administration of Sawantwadi Darbar had come to an end and so had the expectations of the Deccan States coming into existence evaporated into thin air. The dream of consolidating the states of Kolhapur, Sangli, Bhor, Phalton, Akalkot, Mudhol and Sawantwadi had been proposed by the Viceroy and upheld by the States only recently. Shivramraje had just declared that he would have a general election for forming the Constituent Assembly. This, he was sure, would decide to join the Deccan States Union. The Sawantwadi State Representative Assembly, which was in existence, was only a mockery of a democratic institution, which gave the people the name without the substance of democracy. The assembly had been created by the Darbar, which had only the will to fool the people with the semblance of true administrative and legislative power. When the new plans for the constituent assembly and the elections were announced, the subjects of the State were not sufficiently acquainted with them, to say the least. The Praja Parishad and its followers, on the other hand, were adequately acquainted with their idea of consolidating the people of the State with the vast populace of India to reach the goal to political, economic, social and cultural independence. The remnants of feudalistic power as symbolized by the ruling family were swept aside and the new dawn of independence had left the sky with brilliant colours on the horizon.

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81. *Ibid.*, March 3, 1948 Extraordinary, No. 47.
82. *Ibid.*, March 7, 1948.
83. *Ibid.*, March 7, 1948, Extraordinary, No. 48, p. 90.
84. *Ibid.*, March 8, 1948 Extraordinary, No. 50.

Chapter 9

SOCIETY, RELIGION, CULTURE AND EMIGRATION.

THE PEOPLE OF SAWANTWADI STATE, who lived in the territory from the Gadnadi in the north to Pedne, Dicholi and Sattari in the south, and from the Arabian Sea coast in the west to Amboli, Gele and Chowkul above the Western Ghats in the east, were distinctly different from those who lived in the vast area across the mountains. They shared some characteristics of the people who lived in northern Konkan. But they were different from them in their history, spoken language, and the hilly land, jungle, forest and rivers that surrounded them. Their geographical environment had influenced their culture that was typical. They lived in villages mainly and had difficulty in communicating with those of other localities in the rainy season. While they lived in the local protection of the *gram panchayats*, they looked up to the Sardars and the Sardesai to protect them from being thrown to the ambition of the surrounding powers. They fought for their independence under the leadership of the Sardesai and his officers either on land or the sea.

This was the State of Sawantwadi in the beginning of the nineteenth century, about 440,300 hectares or 1700 square miles of territory, which contained 427 villages. The population was perhaps between 3,00,000 and 4,00,000. When the size of the State was reduced to almost a half by 1819, it came to have a population whose strength was not known as a census of the period before 1844 is available. The total population of about half the State according to the Census of 1851 was 1,50,065 and the Census for 1872 was 1,90,814. So it is safe to assume that the population of twice the area was double of that figure.

The territory including Malwan, Masura, Varad and Malund, together with Vengurla and the territory along the coast, and the region to the north between the Gadnadi and the river beyond known as Salshi Mahal, which was annexed by the British, was inhabited by the Sawantwadi brethren, although they were administered henceforth by the Government of Bombay and were part of the Bombay Presidency. But the administration of Sawantwadi was also under British control from 1838 onwards. And the reforms of institutions under direct British rule were not more radical from those in the State. In the south, Pedne, Dicholi and Sattari went under a different European power. The Portuguese had their

own laws and religion and their monarchical constitution was different from that of the British. Nevertheless, the culture of the new conquests or *Novas Conquistas* was distinct from that of the *Velhas Conquistas* of the early 16th Century. The *Novas Conquistas* were "civilized" only in a limited way. The people of this region had contacts with those of Sawantwadi State for a large number of decades and maintained their *ganvki* or attachment to the village traditions, the *devaski* or devotion to the gods or goddesses and devachars who held their sway over the villages, jatra, the annual fair in the temple and family relations with each other. It is, of course, necessary to consider the society of the truncated Sawantwadi from the beginning of 1820s because they lived in a State with all their rights and powers held in tact although there were a number of restrictions imposed on them by the British in the interest of their own commercial pursuits.

Census of truncated State from 1843-44 to 1872

The census of the year 1843-44, which was conducted by the Political Superintendent, did not employ the enumerative techniques followed during the period. *Memoir on the Sawunt Waree State* by Courtney and Auld gives an extensive picture of the people of the State in tables classifying information of every village in 1851. The ages and sex of their inhabitants, their religion, castes and marital status, their occupation and education are given. It gives a more or less accurate picture of the life of the villagers by including a commentary of this type in the account.[1]

The more successful census was taken in 1851. The total population of the State was found to be 1,50,065 souls, 76,956 of them being males and 73,109 females. There were 166.73 of them to a square mile. Of them, 1,44,112 or 96 per cent were Hindus. There were 3,986 or 2.5 per cent Muslims and 1,959 were Christians.[2]

According to the census of 1872, the population had increased to 1,90,814 souls or 212.02 to the square mile, an increase in 21 years of 40,749 souls or 27.15 per cent. Of these, there were 1,82,688 Hindus or 95.64 per cent. There were 4,152 or 2.18 per cent Muslims and 3,954 or 2.08 per cent were Christians. Of the whole number, 48.9 per cent were

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1. Courtney, W., and Auld, J.W., ***Memoir on the Sawunt Waree State***, (Hereafter Courtney and Auld, ***Memoir***),
2. *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Vol, Ratnagiri and Sawantwadi.* (Hereafter *GBP Sawantwadi*), p. 407.

males and 51.1 per cent females. There were 142 or 0.07 per cent Madhavachari Vaishnavas, 13,345 or 7.30 per cent were Shaivs, 199 or 0.10 per cent were Shravaks, and 1,69,002 or 92.50 per cent worshippers of gods and spirits without belonging to any particular sect. All the Muslim population was Sunni except one Shia. Of the Christians, 3,945 were Catholics and nine were Protestants.[3]

Majority of men and women engaged in agriculture

There were 127,370 farmers, or 69.71 per cent of the population, both men and women, who were engaged in agriculture and with animals. This, supplemented by horticulture and floriculture, was the most important occupation of the people of the State. The women participated in the various functions, which involved the agricultural profession. They, along with their husbands, were busy with the rice growing operations, including transplanting, weeding, harvesting, transporting, stacking, threshing, storing the grain in tanks made of bamboos, boiling rice in large pots, drying the rice and ultimately husking it on a large wooden grinding wheel called the *jata*, separating the grain from the husk, and storing both, one for cooking and the other one for the animals. They also participated in looking after the bullocks or the buffaloes and any other animal they might have domesticated. The women also did the cooking and looking after the children. Sawantwadi was indeed an agricultural state with the rest of the people being engaged in supporting the occupation with their products and professions.[4]

Of these 127,370 souls, 105,000 were Mahrattas. The young and strong of them were soldiers in the army of the Sardesai and, even in the British administration, many of them served as soldiers. But they were cultivators like the rest. Besides these, there were 19,750 Bhandaries, who were divided in two communities known as Hetkari Bhandaries and Kitte Bhandaries. In the days of their independence, the Hetkari Bhandaries manned the navy of the State and some of them took up jobs when they lived under the rule of the British. And some of the Kitte Bhandaries were employed as drawers of toddy from the coconut trees. But they were all husbandmen like the rest. There were 2620 Devlis, the descendants of

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3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid.*, p. 414.

Bhavins or temple prostitutes. They cultivated their land and performed some temple service.[5]

The landholders had their agricultural land in the villages, in plots, which had been registered in the records with the *kulkarni* and could get the proof or *satbaracha utara* of this when needed. The plots were divided into several *kungas* or flat, more or less rectangular areas that were bunded on all four sides, with outlet for the water. There were several *kungas* adjoining each other belonging to one household depending on the rich or poor quality of the soil. The tilling of the soil started on or around *mirg or mruga nakshatra*, or the fifth of June when the monsoon was expected to arrive. The farmer ploughed the land with his wooden plough with an iron ploughshare, with two bullocks or buffaloes. The farmer had two bullocks that were available at Rs. 15 each or two buffaloes which he could buy at Rs. 20 each. These animals were with the farmers along with one or more cows or buffaloes for milk and raising the stock. The animals did not cost anything for upkeep, for they were left to graze on the open fields or they were fed on cut grass only.[6]

When the time of transplanting, weeding, harvesting and transporting the ripe grain arrived, the farmer would arrange about ten male and twenty or twenty-five female servants or *kameris*, to work on the fields. He had to give daily food to the male servant when he was engaged and three upon twenty-eighth of a ton of unhusked rice at the end of the season. He had to give six pounds of unhusked rice a day to each of the women. A large landowner had servants for fieldwork whom he had to pay Rupee one per month and provide for his every day food. A less prosperous farmer had one permanent servant, and in the busy season, two or three extra workmen. A small landholder and his wife had to work themselves. He had sometimes to plough with a joint pair of bullocks, called *varangula*, by borrowing one from someone else. After having *nachni* bread and *pej*, he had to work from early in the morning till late in the evening during the season.[7]

Craftsmen worked when farmers tilled

There were 11,330 people who were craftsmen. They were 6.20 per cent of all the Hindus. There were 3760 *Sutars* or carpenters among them

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5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.*
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 414-415.

and they helped the farmers by making or repairing the plough, the wooden grinding wheel for husking rice and in supplying the small things like the rectangular, hollow wooden holder for draining water from the cooked rice, the board for sitting and other small things which were required in the house. He also worked in repairing or constructing the skeleton for the roof of the house if it was being built. There were 2100 *Kumbhars* or potters who supplied the earthen pots and eating bowls that were used in the house except two or three metal plates that were used and were made of copper or brass. There were 2100 *Mithgavdas* or salt makers who supplied this important food to them. There were 475 *Dhavads* or blacksmiths who made and supplied the ploughshare, the semi-circular cutting knife with a handle which was called the *vilee*, the *koyta* used for splitting the coconut, the axe or *kurhade* used for cutting trees or splitting wood, another *koyta* with a long handle used for cutting wood, the pickaxe or *kudal* used for digging, and the *khore* or spade used for digging. There were 1380 *Telis* or oilmen who were mainly occupied with extracting oil from dried coconut kernel. There were, besides, 175 *Koshtis* or weavers who lived in the villages of Tulas and Kasal. In addition to these, there were masons, 30 *Shimpis* or tailors, 100 *Chitaris* or painters and 1210 *Sonars* or goldsmiths. All of them were poor except the goldsmiths. Most of the salt makers, oilmen, weavers, and some carpenters and potters eked out their earnings by fieldwork. They worked when the articles were ordered and carried no stock in hand. These 11,330 people lived mostly in villages and were essentially an adjacent part of the agricultural community.[8]

Depressed classes worked with skillful hands

The depressed classes among the population were called Mhars, and they were 9750 in number. They were divided into two sub-divisions, which were called Pan Mhars and Bele Mhars. They neither ate together nor intermarried. In the villages, there were separate quarters, generally on the outskirts, in which they lived in huts or houses with tiles, having one, two or three rooms. As village servants, they held allotments of village lands. Some of them worked as guides and messengers or day-labourers. Some of them also joined the British army. The women were skilled in bamboo and cane plaiting[9] and made mats for sleeping on or

8. *Ibid.*, p. 415.

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 417-418.

making tanks for storing rice for being parboiled. They made *soops* or winnowing pads used by all to clean the rice or for separating the grain from the husk. They also made baskets with bamboo strips for use in carrying head loads of rice, vegetables, fruit, eatables or clothing. They made umbrellas to cover the working women in the field from the torrential rains. They were quiet and hardworking. All the people, rich and poor, used the articles made by them as household goods

Small percentage of Brahmans occupied important position

According to the 1872 census, there were 12,979 souls of Brahmans or 7.11 per cent of the whole Hindu population of the State. They belonged to two main divisions, Dravids and Gauds. Of Dravid Brahmans, there were four sub-divisions, Deshasths, Karadas, Chitpavans, and Devrukhas. Of the Deshasth, there were only three or four houses in the village of Banda. They were priests and religious beggars. Karadas were distributed all over the State. Each village or a group of two or three villages had a Karadhe priest or religious mendicant. Chitpavans were found chiefly in the towns of Sawantwadi, Kudal and Banda, in some villages near the Sahyadri, and in the Ajgaon sub-division. Some of them did the horticultural business of rearing coconut and betel nut plantations. Others were priests or religious mendicants, and others were in government employ. The four divisions ate together but did not intermarry. Devasthali or State Shastri presided over a committee to settle petty caste disputes of the four divisions, and referred serious disputes for the decision of Shankaracharya Swami.[10]

The Gaud Brahmans were from the Tal-Konkan district of the Adilshahi kingdom, living now in Sawantwadi State and Goa. Those in Sawantwadi State were divided into four divisions called Shenvis, Bardeshkars, Pednekars and Kudaldeshkars. There was a Shenvi Kulkarni or accountant in almost every village. The number of their houses was comparatively large in Sawantwadi, Banda and Kudal. Many of them were landowners and government servants and they were doing well as a class. The numbers of Vaishnav or Sashtikar families was very small and were found chiefly in Sawantwadi and in the villages of Talavda, Hodavda and Tulsali, where they kept grocers' shops. Bardeshkars were also a very small class and did business as traders. One or two houses of Bardesh-

10. *Ibid.*, p. 411.

kars were found in the villages of Tulas, Bambarda, Ajgaon, Aronda, Talavda, Pinguli and Bimbavna. Kudaldeshkars lived in Pat, Haveli, Ajgaon and Mangaon. Although some of them were in Government service, most of them were farmers. One family of Pednekars was hereditary headmen of Satarde. Marriage between various classes was not allowed except between Shenvis and Sashtikars. There were respectable families of Sabnis and Chitnis among the Shenvis and Sashtikars and they presided over the caste committees to settle their caste disputes and referred the serious cases to the *swamis* or spiritual heads in Goa. Kudaldeshkars, Bardeshkars and Pednekars had their caste committees who decided their caste disputes.[11]

Most of Vanis came from Karnataka

There was a trader's class of 10,402 persons or 5.6 per cent of the Hindu population. Most of them were *Vanis* who totalled 9600. There were some other classes like Lingayats whose strength was 508, Jains who totalled 199, and Bogars who were 70 and Jangams whose population were 25. Their total population was 802 as compared with that of the Vanis. The Vanis had come to South Konkan more than four hundred years earlier from North Kanara and had settled down in the towns of Sawantwadi, Kudal and Banda and in the villages of Mangaon, Akeri and Pavas. Their chief occupation was trade, selling piece goods and groceries. The Lingayats came about three hundred years earlier from across the Sahyadri and were settled in Akeri, Salgaon, Valaval, Bambuli, Nerur, Kudal and Mutt. The Bogars, originally from Belgaum and Kolhapur, had come down at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and settled at Sawantwadi, Naneli, Kudal, Bordava and Varos. They dealt in brass and copper vessels, and glass bangles, and hawked their wares in towns and villages and yearly fairs and sometimes opened stalls in markets.[12]

Fishers, Dhangars, Chambars and Personal Servants

There were Fishers and Sailors who were together counted as 1125 persons. They constituted 0.61 per cent of the whole Hindu population. There were 850 of them who were *Gabits* or fishermen and 275 were

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11. *Ibid.*, pp. 411-412.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 413.

Bhois, that is, palanquin-bearers, some of whom supplemented their income by tillage.[13]

There were two classes of Shepherds and they were counted as 1940 persons, that is, 1.06 per cent of the whole Hindu population. Of them, the Dhangars or shepherds were 1750. They owned cattle and goats, and moved from place to place. There were also 190 *Gavlis* or milkmen, who had come from Kolhapur and settled down in towns and villages in about 1730.[14]

Of Personal Servants there were three classes totalling together 3200 persons or 1.75 per cent of the whole Hindu population. There were 1900 *Nhavis* or barbers; 1225 *Parits* or washer men; and 75 *Mashalchis* or torchbearers.[15]

Of Leather Workers there were two classes totalling 1765 persons or 0.96 per cent of the whole Hindu population. There were Chambhars, that is tanners and leather workers, who were called in to remove dead cattle from towns and villages. *Jingars* or sadlers were 140, some of whom prepared finely embroidered leather work.[16]

Vajantries with sarangi, sanai and tabla

There were two classes of Bards and Actors totalling 220 souls or 0.12 per cent of the whole Hindu population. There were 170 of them who were *Gans* and fifty *Vajantries*. The men among the Gans played the fiddle, *sarangi*, and the *tabla* or drum, and the women or *kalavants* acted as singing and dancing girls. The *Vajantris*, who belonged to Sawantwadi, came from the Ghadsi caste, which was inferior both to Gans and Mahrattas. They had come from across the Sahyadri and had about five houses. Both Hindu and Muslim weddings reverberated with the shrill music of their flutes, *sanais* and *surs*.[17]

Berads of Chowkul

In Chowkul, a village few kilometres from Amboli, Berads lived. They had caste-fellows scattered over the neighbouring Belgaum villages. They believed that they were of the same caste and creed as the

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13. *Ibid.*, p. 415.
14. *Ibid.*
15. *Ibid.*
16. *Ibid.*, pp. 415-416.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 415.

Ramoshis. A Berad, if comparatively better off, lived in a house having three rooms, the front room being used only by men, the middle one for women and for dining, and the back room for cattle. Some of them lived only in a one-roomed hut. They were 104 according to the Census of 1872 and belonged to the depressed classes. They considered themselves as above the Mhars and did not touch them or mix with them.[18]

There were stories of their dacoity on caravans of covered bullock carts that carried goods like mangoes by night through the Amboli ghat. At night the cart drivers were fast asleep except the one leading the caravan, letting the bullocks draw the carts up the winding ten mile steep ascent. The Berads would come down the mountain, remove the bells from the necks of the bullocks and draw the carts themselves while the bullocks were taken away to a long distance. The Berads who disappeared in the jungle then abandoned the carts.[19]

Religious beggars

Five classes of Religious Beggars, with strength of 2033 persons or 1.11 of the whole Hindu population, lived in Sawantwadi. Of these, there were 960 Nath Gosavis, some of whom laboured in tillage. Eight hundred of them were Thakurs and 150 of them were Votari Gosavis, who seemed to be new comers, some of whom prepared and dealt in stone pots. There were 100 of them who were Bhats and 28 were Bharathi Gosavis.[20]

Nath Gosavis seldom owned houses. They wore a *bhagwa* or brick-coloured dress that consisted of a loincloth, a cap, a blanket and a waistcloth. A wallet hanged from their left arm, and while begging, they carried a stick in the right hand and a pale coloured gourd in the left. They understood Marathi, but among themselves used a peculiar *patois*. Some of them were settled, but most were wanderers. In the rainy season, they stopped in village temples, and in the fair seasons, they camped under trees. Some twelve to fourteen men and their families moved together, sometimes with a bull, one or two goats and dogs. Those that had settled down, some took to fishing, but most made vessels, *dagadia*, from the stone of Ramgad quarry, and the women sold very popular *pirdukas* or glass-bead necklaces. The ceremony by which a man publicly assumed

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18. *Ibid.*, p. 417.

19. Story told to the author by Salvador J. Fernandez in about 1930. He worked in the office of Collector of Belgaum in the first and second decade of the twentieth century, and travelled on his bicycle to Sawantwadi on holidays at night.

20. *GBP Sawantwadi*, p. 418.

his calling involved his ear slitting and he was declared eligible for marriage. After repeating the words *'Shri Gorakh, Shri Gorakh'*, he was enjoined by the priest to live solely by begging.[21]

Thakurs were found chiefly in Ambadpal and Mudla and were about 800 in number. Some of them tilled and twisted woolen threads for blankets; but most of them lived by begging and singing ballads. They also played the puppets by strings and performed plays on the events in the *Ramayana* and the *Puranas*. They were supposed to have come from the region beyond the Sahyadri some five hundred years earlier.[22]

Muslims and Roman Catholic minorities

The Muslims, who were 4152 persons or 2.18 per cent of the total population, were divided into four sub-divisions, Sheikhs, Syeds, Mughals and Pathans. All of them were Sunnis. Some of them were employed in the Sawantwadi Local Corps. The rest of them were traders, agriculturists, grooms, water-carriers and drumbeaters. On the whole, they were poor, idle and improvident.[23]

There were 3954 Roman Catholics in Sawantwadi in 1872. They had settled down in the territory to the south, mainly, including Sawantwadi. They came as toddy-tappers and masons from the northern parts of Goa, that is, from Bardez and Pedne. They settled down in parts of various villages and the town. They had their different castes like Bamon, Chardo and Reinor. There were no intermarriages among the castes but dining together was allowed. The males wore a headscarf, a shoulder cloth thrown loosely over the body, and a waistcloth girt round the loins. They had built a church in Sawantwadi in accordance with a treaty between the State and the Portuguese Government in Goa. The priests were appointed from Goa and the church was under the authority of the Archbishop of Goa. The married women wore sarees and bodices, and while going to church, they, in addition, draped themselves in two pieces of white cloth, one to cover the saree and the other tucked at the waist and carried over the head like a half *purdah*. The men wore their normal clothes as church wear except that they were more expensive. As

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21. *Ibid.*, p. 419.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 420.
23. *Ibid.*

a class they were poor and ate pork, which was forbidden by the other people, both Hindu and Muslims.[24]

There was an enumeration of infirm persons who were 408, of whom 265 were males and 143 were females. Of these 51, males 30 and females 21 were insane; 29, males 20 and females 9, were idiots. There were 139 persons who were deaf and dumb, 88 of them being males and 51 being females. The blind numbered 120, 73 of them being male and 47 female. There were 69 persons who were lepers, 54 of them being males and 15 being females.[25]

Villages administered by Panchayats

There were 221 towns and villages in the State according to the Census of 1872. There was, on an average, one village to every ten square kilometers. Eighteen of these villages contained from 2000 to 3000 people, 41 from 1000 to 2000, 64 from 500 to 1000, 57 from 200 to 500 and 36 had less than 200 inhabitants. No village belonged to one caste only, as there were people of different castes who lived in it.[26]

The *ganvkars* or the village headman was at the head of a village establishment, which included the *fouzdars*, who was the police officer, the *kulkarni*, or the village accountant, and the village servants called *ghadis, devlis, bhavins* and *mahars*. The *ganvkars* was the hereditary village headman and revenue collector. He had been chosen from the Mahratta community, and in some cases from the Bhandari, and a few from the Gaud Brahman caste. He was formerly consulted on every occasion, but he had lost his influence in later times. But he had a position of honour at the celebration of village ceremonies, at fairs and at *Holi, Ramnavami* and *Dasra*. He was supposed to settle the village disputes.[27]

The *fouzdars* generally was chosen from the family of the *ganvkars*. The *Kulkarnies* kept the village papers and were associated with the *ganvkars* in all village revenue matters. The *ghadis, devlis, bhavins* and *mhars* received an allowance of grain and garden produce from the people. They were required to help the *ganvkars* and the *fouzdars* in gathering the revenue and in other village matters.[28]

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24. *Ibid.*, p. 421.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 408
26. *Ibid.*
27. *Ibid.*
28. *Ibid.*

There were no pasture grounds, which were reserved for the inhabitants of the village. They grazed their cattle on their own fields, or wastelands and neighbouring hill. They could go to the village and state hill lands and forests and bring back dry faggots and firewood without paying any charge. Contributions by the villagers in money and labour were made from time to time to build and repair temples, ponds or other works of general use.[29]

Dwellings

In 1872, there were in all 44,823 houses in the State. These formed 49.80 houses to the square mile. There were 1,511 houses of a better type, which lodged 15,565 persons, that is, 8.16 per cent of the entire population. They lived at the rate of 10.30 persons in each house. While 91.84 per cent of the population or 1,75,249 persons lived in the remaining 43,312 houses, with an average house population of 4.04 persons of a poorer class.[30]

The bigger houses with walls of stone and mud, having one, two or three stories, and tiled roofs, belonged to the richer classes. They contained from 8 to 15 rooms according to the means and size of the owner's family. In front, there was a porch, *ota*, and a settle, and a veranda behind. Inside was the *majghar* or the central room. There were a cooking room and from six to twelve other rooms.[31]

The chief articles of furniture were a *jajam*, or carpet, a *tabak*, or brass betel-leaf plate, a *gudgudi*, or a hubble-bubble, a brass lamp, brass drinking, eating and cooking vessels tinned from inside from time to time, a few silver plates, some cots and cupboards, and very rarely a small table and chairs. The furniture in a middle class house did not differ from that of a rich house except that it did not have a table, chairs and silver plates. But in other details, the furniture was much the same. A few earthen vessels and copper pots, and one or two *pats* or sitting boards were all the furniture in a poor man's house.[32]

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29. *Ibid.*, p. 422.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 408.
31. *Ibid.*
32. *Ibid.*

Almost all eat rice and fish

Almost all people except a few Chitpavan Brahmans were fond of fish. Without fish curry, they found rice, which they ate twice a day, to have been flat. Most of them used parboiled rice for cooking and mixed it with fish curry made with ground coconut, red chilies and other spices on a flat grinding stone with a round oblong stone being passed over the mixture. The women squatted in front of the grinding stone and ground the *masala* very fine. Then the curry was boiled in a *tavli* or earthen flat curry pot, and the fish was put in it when it began to boil. When fresh fish was not available during the rainy season, they put dried salted fish in the curry. They also ate a variety of famous vegetables, which they grew on their land with creepers of some spreading over their roofs. They made vegetables of raw fruit, like jackfruit or plantains. Fish was available in plenty during the long season without rain. But in the rain, it was fished from the rivers that flowed in their beds. There were also the crabs and tortoises which could be caught. They had *pej*, or rice with the water it was boiled with, and *nachni* bread. This was the normal daily food of the common people in Sawantwadi.[33]

The other well to do people ate *vadas*, that is, cakes of rice and *udid* flour fried in oil, eaten with goat's meat or chicken, preferably the cock. They also ate cakes stuffed with gram flour with jaggery called *puran-polis*, sugared and buttered wheat or gram flour balls called *ladus* and a variety of sweets or *kheers* made of coconut mixed with jaggery and the cereals. They ate mangoes, jackfruit, cashew, plantains, papaya and other fruit. Those who drank milk had a regular supply of their own or were supplied by *gavlis*. Those who drank toddy or liquor went to Bhandari or Christian toddy- or liquor-sellers. Stores of rice, pulse, salt and red chillies, and by those doing well, of sugar, jaggery, spice etc., were laid in during March and April. The people generally paid for the purchases at harvest with twenty-five or thirty per cent interest, but the well-to-do paid in ready money.[34]

Dress

Man among agriculturists and craftsmen wore a loin cloth called *kashti* or a *pancha* in the house, with a waistcloth, or sometimes a

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33. *Ibid.*, p. 409.
34. *Ibid.*

waistcoat known as *bandi*, when it was not too warm in summer. While going out in summer, he wore a sleeveless smock, called *kanchola*, waistcloth or waistcoat, with or without a *rumal*, which was the headscarf. In cold or wet weather, he wore a blanket, *kamle*. On great occasions, he wore an *angarkha,* coat, instead of a *kanchola*, and a turban instead of the headscarf. Some, who could afford them, also wore a dhoti and vahanas or sandals. Indoors, middle class women wore a sari, actually called *lugda*, without a *choli* or bodice. They wore outdoors a *lugda* with or without a *choli*, and on special occasions a richer and fresher *lugda* and *choli*. Boys and girls were allowed to go naked for a year or two. For two or three years afterwards, boys wore a loin cloth and girls wore a *ghagra* or skirt extending downwards from the waist, and a choli. And afterwards, for special occasions, boys and girls wore dresses like their elders. The poorest classes of field and town labourers wore loincloth and blanket indoor; and outdoors they wore a waistcloth, blanket and headscarf, and on festive occasions a waistcloth, jacket and fresh head scarf. The women dressed like the middle class women, except that fewer of them wore the bodice and that their *lugdas* were of coarser and plainer cloth and in worse repairs. The children of the poor did not differ from those of the middle class except that they were later in getting clothes and got their complete suits less often.[35]

The ordinary indoor dress of upper class Hindus was a *dhotar*, half-sleeved shirt without collar, a jacket, with or without a coat and a *rumal* or head scarf. When he went outside, he wore a *dhotar*, a waistcoat, a coat, which would be up to the knee, and buttoned up, a turban or headscarf, a cotton *upama*, that is the shoulder cloth, and Deccani shoes or *vahanas*, which were the sandals. On great occasions, he wore, in addition to his ordinary outdoor clothes, an especially rich turban, and woolen shawl round his shoulders. The State servants wore a bright, tightly wound, three-cornered Shindeshahi *pagdi* or headdress. The women of this class wore *lugda* and *choli*. Their outdoor dress did not differ from this dress indoors. Only the material was richer, and on great occasions they wore shawl drawn over the head. Boys wore a waistcloth, a coat, and a cap or turban, and the girls fewer than four wore a *parkar*, which extended downwards from the waist to ankles, an *angda*, which was similar to a

35. *Ibid.*, pp. 409-410.

choli, and a *topi*, that is, a cap. When four years old, their dress was the same as that of women.[36]

Dhotar and *lugda*, which was nine yards long, were worn with one end from the front taken between the legs and tucked at the waist. No woman's dress would be complete without the vermillion *kunku* on the forehead, except those who were widowed. Flowers like *abolim, shevanti, mogra, chameli, chafa, jai* and *jui* were either made or bought as *valesars*, which were long strips of flowers, and worn by girls and unwidowed women when flowers had been offered to gods in the house.

Ornaments worn by the people

The people were very fond of wearing ornaments and used them as a sign of prestige and power. Middle class men wore *mudis*, gold earrings, *gop*, a silver necklace and *kada*, a wristlet. Among the rich, men wore *bhikbalis*, gold earrings, *angthis*, finger rings, and *kanthi*, a necklace. A woman of the middle class as well as the rich wore for the head, *muds, rakhdis, kegads, phuls, shevtiche phuls,* and *chandrakors.* For the neck they wore *thushis, galsaris, putlis, saris*, and *tikas*. They used for the ears *bugdis, karabs, kudis, kaps* and *ghums*, and for the nose, *naths* and *motis*. *Vankis* and *bajubands* were worn on the upper arm; *bangdis* and *patlis* were used for the wrist; and for the ankles, *todas*. The ornaments for a poor woman were the *galsari* and the *moti*, and round silver, lead and lac bangles and rings. A boy from a rich family wore gold and silver *kadas* and *todas*, and silver anklets, *valas* or *jhanjris*; and *mudis, gops,* and *kadas* in middle class and poor families. A girl's ornaments in a rich family were *muds, rakhdis, chandrakors, kegads, venis,* and *kalepattis* for the head; *bugdis, karales,* and *kaps* for the ears; *galsaris, thushis, saris, putalyacha hars,* and *javachi mals* for the neck; and for the ankles, *todas, valas,* and *jhanjris.* In the middle class families they had *muds* for the head, *karalis* for the ears, *naths* in the nose, and *tikas* and *galsaris* on the neck. In a poor family, they wore *bugdis* for the ears, *galsaris* for the neck, and round silver, lead and lac bangles for the wrists.[37]

Rural culture dominated in the State

We have noticed earlier that according to the census of 1872, out of a population of 190,814, there were 169,002 or 92.50 per cent who

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36. *Ibid.*, p. 409.

37. *Ibid.*, p. 410.

worshipped gods and spirits without belonging to any religious Hindu sect. There were about 70 per cent of the whole population who were Mahrattas and about 10 per cent who were Bhandaries. There were 10 per cent who belonged to the other castes. All these people who lived in the villages were agriculturists either directly or supporting it by their profession. The healthy and young among them belonging to the Mahratta and Bhandari castes joined the army or were ready to join any battle. They and their superiors got paid or were provided with land in return for their services. Apart from their land, it was the military profession, which gave them the social, economic and political position in the society. The State depended on their services and paid for them. These Mahrattas and Bhandaries had their Sardars who were headed by the killedars, the Desais, the Admiral and the Dalvi. Each of these officers had up to a village of *inam* land in addition up to Rs. ten thousand or more of the allowance. These Sardars were mostly of the *Shyahannav kuli* or ninety-six families known by their surnames. They did not, as a rule, intermarry with those of the lower caste of Mahrattas who were known as *kunbis*. But marriages did take place in certain cases. But on the whole the *shyahannav kulins* and the *kunbis* were Mahrattas.

First fifty years: 1800 to 1850

The first ten years or so, the people in the higher circles knew that the economic and military position of the State was considerably weak in relation to that of the British. The people had passed the time watching or participating in the fight of rivals to the Gadi and later on the struggle against taking over of the State by an outsider. The next ten years, the State had signed the Treaty of 1812 giving the British equal rights with those of the other merchants to trade their goods through Sawantwadi and the Ramghat. That was the main bone of contention between Sawantwadi and the British. Regent Rani Durgabai carried on the diplomatic struggle against the greater acquisition of the territories of the State by the British which went on for the remaining six years of her Regency bravely. The two surviving widows of Khem Sawant III who became the Regents signed the Subsidiary Alliance of 1919 giving away, in addition to the territories of Malwan, Masura, Varad and Malund together with Vengurla which had already been lost, the coastal territory from Vengurla to Reddy. The sovereign powers over the reduced territory were surrendered by the State by agreeing not to have an army and not to have a direct relationship with

any other State except through the British. The powers of having other controls over its territories were however left untouched. The Portuguese had attached the territories of Pedne, Dicholi and Sattari in 1803. Thus the Sawantwadi State was left with an income, which was much less than half as far as the internal revenue was concerned. Besides, they had lost the income they had hoped to receive from the free trade, which resulted from Vengurla and the ghats.

When Raja Khem Sawant IV could not attend to the incomes of Mehmans and Sardars and had to neglect the incomes of those soldiers who depended on them, and also the incomes of people who depended on the trade, there was tremendous discontentment among the people. This gave rise to a struggle for overthrowing the control of the British. This was the phase of the peoples' upsurge that ended in a war with the British. They put it down with the fall of Manohargad.

During the first phase, the higher Sardars had a great fall in their incomes. Their allowances were cut down and ultimately the families had little of them. But they were left with the land that they were holding. They had little influence with the government. And they had no comparison with the influence they had held in the society before the British took over the government. They lived in large houses that had lost their former glory. They were given their former respects at village festivals but they carried only a shadow of political and social influence, which they held in their days of glory.

This was the first phase from 1800 to 1850. The value of military dominance was fading and it had ultimately been lost. It showed the discontentment in the whole society with the value of military dominance. The soldierly pursuits of society had shown a downfall and there was a view to discover new ways to get a much-awaited living.

Forgetting past prosperity and making life for present

A generation had passed since the final defeat of the struggle for independence. A new generation was now managing with only the agricultural activity. The old people who could get enough by using the opportunities provided by the State were no more active or living. The people had no more of opportunities of serving in the army or the navy, of being the beneficiaries of fighting the battles, of being *killedars* and serving as officers and watchmen of the State, and of being the sharers in the prosperity which resulted from successful trade. More than eighty per cent

of the population was now suffering from the loss of a chance for improving their lot. "The bulk of the people, the Marathas, Bhandaries, and Mhars were formerly famous, both by land and sea, for their fierce cruelty. Ever since the establishment of order under the British, Savantvadi has more than once been the scene of revolt and disturbance. But now for nearly thirty-five years peace has been unbroken and the old pirate and freebooting classes have settled as quiet husbandmen."[38] This extract has been taken from a British authority writing in 1880. The British had done their job and left the society to manage with an income that was much smaller than what they had enjoyed. "The only remaining signs of special enterprise and vigour were," said the same source, "till a few years ago, their readiness to cross the sea to Mauritius in search of work, and the fondness that still remains for military and police service."[39]

Mauritius between 1851 to 1861

The big majority of the people, both agriculturist and craftsmen, depended for their living either partly or entirely on the soil. The farmers had to depend on exorbitant loans, although these did not ruin them because almost all of them had some property and some credit. But for the labouring class, there were opportunities in Mauritius for employment. Between 1851 and 1861, a large number of labourers, chiefly Mahrattas and Bhandaries, went over there. Most of them returned with a saving of Rupees 200 to 400. One of them returned after serving there for almost twelve years. He had learnt some French and brought back a fortune of Rupees 4,000. By 1861, the demand for labour in the Mauritius had ceased.

To Mumbai for needed jobs

But there was a rise in the Mumbai wages at the same time and in the various towns also. There were many people in Sawantwadi who wanted jobs, but this was only the beginning and it was estimated that not more than three in a thousand left the State in search of work. A large number of them belonging to the Brahman classes, especially the Saraswats, went to Government, municipal, railway, port trust and mercantile offices in Mumbai and other large towns for employment as clerks. There was a demand for English education in Sawantwadi town,

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38. *Ibid.*, pp. 410-411.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 411.

which was provided by Colonel Westropp and so many of the Saraswats, and a few of the backward classes took advantage of it.

They generally went away without their families and came back when they had settled down with jobs to take the families with them. The Mahrattas and Mahars found employment in the army and the police and generally took their families with them. They visited their villages from time to time and settled down there with an earned pension. There was also the class of labourers who moved to Mumbai and other labour markets after the harvesting work was over. They would work there as carriers during the fair season and get back to their field in the beginning of June.[40]

Jobs in cotton textiles and railway network

Indian industries like jute manufacturing in Kolkata, cotton textile industry in Mumbai and the railway industry in Mumbai and other large towns and its network in various places, which had started in 1850, began to develop into large-scale industries by 1914. The cotton textile industry, most of it in Mumbai, was acknowledged as the fourth- or fifth-largest in the world. The railway industry was the third largest network in the world. Mumbai had been growing fast as trading centre together with Karachi.[41] The jobs in these places were naturally increasing. And the Sawantwadi people who got more jobs than earlier in Mumbai and Karachi and other places, and settled down in the neighbourhood of known localities of the cities where they could have their employment.

The people came to Sawantwadi for some religious festival, for a marriage, birth of a first-born child, death of a parent or to work on their fields. They sent money to their dependants by money orders. But spent most of their life in Mumbai, Karachi or the other places and were influenced by the manners and customs of the various people in the cities. They lived in small cubicles in large buildings, which were rented to mostly people of their castes from Sawantwadi. But they came in contact with a large number of different castes speaking different languages in the wider cities and towns.

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40. *Ibid.*, p. 422.

41. Morris D. Morris, 'The Growth of Large-Scale Industry to 1947', in Dharma Kumar and Maghnad Desai, eds., *The Cambridge Economic History of India, Volume 2, C. 1757 - C. 1970*, pp. 553-555.

Mumbai life different from that in village

Their behaviour was affected by this experience of living in the atmosphere of large cities and towns. Their dresses were changed by way of neatness and of some by adoption of some parts of foreign costumes. At home their cooking vessels were changed by the use of aluminium. And the *segree* was lit with charcoal for cooking meals for the family. The Primus stove was also used for making tea that the people had got used to drinking more often. Some had their meals in some Hindu eating-house. They also went to Hindu restaurants for some tea and eatables. Only some of them went to Irani restaurants for a cup of tea or coffee and some snacks and food. Some people had a table and chair but better furniture was kept by a few who did well.

Religious beliefs and superstitions remain in tact

These few changes kept their religious beliefs and superstitions in tact. When they went home, they made it a point to visit their deity in their temple. They made *namaskar* to them and offered worship and gifts like coconuts, flowers, fruits and money. If the ceremonies like marriage were held away from their homes in Sawantwadi, they made it a point to visit their deity in the village temple. In fact they were very particular to thank their deity in their temple. This was to be done in spite of the daily worship that was offered to the deity in their house.

All the people who lived in the villages also offered these prayers. They believed in all the stories given in the Puranas. They believed in the Hindu Trinity of Brahma, Vishnu and Mahesh and in the incarnations of Vishnu especially of Ram and Krishna. They also believed in the spiritual powers of the thirty-three crores of the Hindu gods. But the gods in whose names the temples existed were usually those of Vishnu and Shankar known by various names. They worshipped Datta Guru and also Patekar who was worshipped in the temple that existed very close to the Palace. But they also offered gifts and appeasements to the *devchar* of the village, the *pisachyas* who occupied the *vad* trees, and the spirits in the form of images and stones. They had showered benediction or malediction on the village or their inhabitants in the past. The sea was worshipped by all and especially by those whose profession was connected with it. The cobra was respected as having tremendous powers and worshipped as a deity.

Each village temple had deities with a body of beliefs and customs, which could not be violated without incurring their malediction. In times of adversity, the village *Devaski* had to be propitiated. Every individual had to confess openly all the evil things he had committed before asking for forgiveness and blessings. He had also to make penance by abstaining from something dear to him. They had sometimes to offer *garahnas* to their deity, a mixture of his wish and comp'aints in respect of some calamity or quarrel, and ask for blessings to conclude it beneficially to themselves. But they had to keep their conscience clear to him.

They had also to observe the customs and traditions of the village. These encompassed the values, which governed individual behaviour with each other, be it one's family, neighbours and the village community. They included the customs, which they had to follow in their economic dealings with their fellowmen. They had to pay the servants their dues according to the village traditions. And the master and the servants had to behave according to the customs prevailing in the village. These obligations were known as the *gaonki* or *gramaski* and any offence against it was punished by the *gram panchayats*.

All people accepted these individual and social obligations. But, due to the social customs which changed by the emigration of large sections of the villagers to cities, their coming over to their homes, and the education and culture which was spread by the literature, news papers, lectures, dramas, cinema pictures and the radio, the law began to take the place of a large part of the *gaonki* among the people. But the *devaski* remained as governing the lives of the people.

Social norms changing from 1920

The people had been going out of Sawantwadi even before 1850 as soldiers and policemen and for other employment from 1860. Almost all the communities had their presence in Mumbai and the other places up to the end of the First World War. The society of Sawantwadi did not fail to be affected by the contact with the various populations they lived with. But the changes, which took place, were indeed in the tolerance, which they felt with the differences in the diverse patterns of life they found existing among them. This can be described as tolerance of those patterns of behaviour.

When the next phase of life of these people started with 1920, the nationalist movement had started growing in Mumbai by leaps and

bounds. This movement attracted a large number of people through various social channels. The political movement embraced a wide range of social change. These movements began to have discussions and conflicts among the people of Sawantwadi. There was a spirit of independence among the younger generation and these started to adopt changes in their lives. The society accepted the change in beliefs and customs in behaving with the larger society. But they refused to accommodate the *devaski* with religious ideas, which were found to be enunciated by the ancient sages of India. These were the beliefs in Trinity of Brahma, Vishnu and Mahesh. This was the belief in One God. This was believed in always. But the belief in various gods to whom the ancestors prayed for their blessings and received them was refused to be put in the background. There were a number of theories to defend the belief in so many gods along with that of One God. These provided the defence of beliefs in the various gods of the village temples. The beliefs, which were found to be the *Devaski*, which all people had found to be associated with their spiritual and temporal welfare, were embraced and these ideas continue to have had their validity till the merger of the State into the Dominion of India.

The custom of having no inter-marriages among the castes also remained. So also remained the belief in untouchability of the Schedule Caste people. This belief might have died among the minority of the educated persons of the towns. But in the vast majority in the villages, the customs persisted.

The society as a whole was modernized to a large extent otherwise. But the women were continued to be in the secondary position in the family and society. This observation did not apply to the educated women of the towns. They had their jobs but occupied the inferior position in the family. They, all the same, had their respect and dignity in the family and society.

Education among the people was desired to a greater extent. They had seventeen per cent literacy in the State in 1941. Perhaps it had increased to about twenty per cent at the time of the merger. The population in the towns showed a great improvement in their education. There were three persons who had qualified for the Indian Civil Servants posts. They were Lad, Shiveshwarkar and Nerurkar. And a number of physicians, surgeons, judges, lawyers and engineers were practising or serving with distinction in Mumbai and Sawantwadi. There were a number of university and college teachers. There were a large number of school

teachers teaching both in Mumbai and Sawantwadi. S.L. Haldankar had achieved a position of distinction as an oil painter as well as water colour painter of landscapes. There were also Satavlekar and a number of others who made their names as painters and sculptors. There were writers and playwrights like V.S. Khandekar, Mama Varerkar, M.G. Rangnekar and Kaka Kalelkar and editors of dailies like P.R. Behere and weeklies like R.K. Tatnis and M.D. Shirodkar. Among the people who distinguished themselves in the army was Jaganathrao Bhonsle Tirodkar who would have reached the rank of General and Commander in Chief of the Indian Army if he had not joined the Indian National Army of Netaji Subash Chandra Bose. But these could be counted among the products of the towns and not among the ninety per cent of the population of the State. The life of these people had remained backward in absence of education.

Mohammedans both of distinction and common run

The percentage of the Mohammedans was about 2.16 per cent of the general population. They had been in the State for centuries. They were concerned with carrying the trade between Vengurla, Banda and Nivti on the one hand and the ports of Iran, the Arabian Gulf, the Red Sea and the African along its eastern coast. The large ships of the ports of these countries brought down the goods to Vengurla and Banda and took back those of the Deccan. They used to travel from October to May. They were excellent sailors guiding their ships by the sextant and compass. They had great knowledge of astronomy, which helped them to steer the ships. They stayed for a number of days in the Konkan settling down in some coastal locality. Later on they must have left their Islamic people and property behind. When Islam states were established in India, they carried on the trade with Iran and Arabia, which had a great demand on both sides.

When the Bahamani Empire was having trade from Dabhol, South Konkan pirates harassed it. That invited an expedition by Mahmud Gavan through the Ramghat. A little later, the Adilshahi Kingdom established their sway in this entire region. The Adilshah had his Desais in Tal Konkan and appointed a governor in Banda to rule over the territory and supervise the trade.

There were a large number of Muslims who lived in the area. The historical remains of Banda showed that a town existed there with a Juma mosque built with laterite and cement. The Redi Gumaj is still present

there though with a part of the building falling off. A few remains of a *musafarkhana* and a roofless and ruined mosque with two rows of octagonal plastered stone pillars with carved capital and fine tracery about the arches and windows was noticed there in the 1870s.

The Muslim officers of that period had their land in those days and a few of them had lost it in the intervening period. In the period we are looking at, the Muslims were agriculturists and traders. They had an Urdu school in Kolgaon, which gave a secondary education of the Mumbai University. They had to send their students to the Sawantwadi High School for matriculation. One student passed the matriculation examination from the High School in 1880s and went to Baroda State where he became the Diwan of the State. He had a large property and a large house in Sawantwadi and had donated a spacious hall in the town. There were other few students who went to the High School. The percentage of literacy among them was much better than among the males and females of the whole population of the State. They took up jobs in the police or went to Mumbai for employment. The others made a living by jobs like driving, mechanics or as contractors. Among those who were trading, there was Mian Saheb Rajguru who was successful in his business of selling cars, bicycles and spare parts. Besides having his agency, he also ran the motor car services between important places. There was also a physician in Mumbai called Dr. Khoja who was also popular. There was also Shaikh Baba who was the Chief Police Officer of the State for a number of years. Dawood Khan succeeded him but he remained in service with the State up to the merger.

The Muslims celebrated their Ramzan with the *tashas* beating and the men dancing around the fire. The *pirs* were taken out in a procession from several places through the streets in the old bazaar and then washed of the embellishments in the Moti Talao. Then started the journey back after the massacre of Hasan and Husain. This procession was in the presence of Hindus and Christians.

Struggle for education among Catholics

In 1925, it was about one and a half century since the Catholics were allowed to emigrate to Sawantwadi from Goa by virtue of a treaty. They came down across the border from Bardez and Pedne looking out for a living. They came over as toddy tappers and masons and settled down in the villages of Insuli, Majgaon, Malgaon, Charatha, Kolgaon and in

Sawantwadi town. Many of them settled down as fishermen in the coastal region of Sawantwadi, Vengurla and Malwan, which was controlled by the British. Some of them became successful as contractors and acquired agricultural lands. They also produced vegetables, flowers, coconuts and fruits.

But most of them started going to Mumbai and other places in search of jobs as cooks, butlers and other domestic servants in important families and hotels. Some of them took education learning Marathi, Modi and English and found jobs in the government, municipality, port trust, railways and commercial offices in Mumbai and elsewhere. A few of them made money in their business and built modern houses with fashionable furniture. One passed the matriculation examination from the Sawantwadi High School. He was Fernandez who ultimately rose to the position of Kamavisdar of a division of the State. He used to travel in a horse carriage and his correspondence in Modi is found in *Sawantwadi State Records*. His son, Anthony Fernandez, was also a Kamavisdar in the second half of the twentieth century. A third person, Salvador Fernandez, who had joined the Belgaum Collector's office, was invited by Khem Sawant V to join the State service in the capacity of Head Clerk. He was later on Superintendent of the Diwan office. He was ultimately promoted as the Chief Accountant and Treasurer of the State. L.M. Nogeira was a practising lawyer in Sawantwadi. Another student of the Sawantwadi High School, Custadio D'Souza, was the Secretary of the Bombay Municipality. Others were having their posts in government and private offices.

But when the Catholics of Sawantwadi went for jobs in Mumbai or Belgaum, they began to see the educational growth of the people who lived there or had come from Mangalore. They began to wonder at the lack of educational and religious development of the people of Sawantwadi. They found that the Jesuits offered the education to their brethren in Mumbai, Mangalore, Belgaum and other places. The absence of this facility was traced to the rejection by the people of Sawantwadi of the Concordat of 1886 that had put the Parish of Sawantwadi under the Society of Jesus. The Jesuits belong to one of the religious societies whose members take the vow of poverty and devote the income of their societies to educational and charitable purposes. There are also the secular priests who carry on mostly the religious duties and were oftentimes, in those days, not concerned with the social and economic improvement of their parishioners.

The territories of Mumbai, (which was later on put under the Portuguese and English terms of bishopric authority), the East Indian Catholic population of Bandra to Vasai, and the ex-Goan population of Sawantwadi, Ratnagiri, Belgaum and Kolhapur had been retained by the Portuguese Government as coming under the religious supervision of the Padroado Mission of the Patriarch of the East who was in Goa. The Jesuits and other religious orders started their schools, colleges and hospitals in Mumbai, Pune, Belgaum and Goa. The Catholic education of Mangalore began when they accepted the Concordat of 1886. But the Padroado Mission continued to have the control of Sawantwadi, Ratnagiri, Belgaum and Kolhapur as before. An agitation was, therefore, started by the people to have the Padroado Mission replaced by the Jesuits.

This agitation was started by the educated people of Sawantwadi supported by many others to have the Vatican to abolish the Padroado Mission over the Church of Sawantwadi and to hand it over to the Jesuits. The first general meeting was held in Sawantwadi on March 3, 1926 under the Presidentship of L.M. Nogeira and the Secretariship of Salvador Fernandez. After forming the Sawantwadi Catholic Union, they decided to request the authorities to send the Jesuits to their Parish for the educational, social, religious, economic and other advancement of the Catholic people.[42] The Mumbai branch of the Union promoted the objects of the Union. The people of Sawantwadi supported the agitation.

After making a number of appeals to the Padroado Mission, the Jesuits, Khem Sawant V, and to the Vatican, a decision was taken to establish a school in Konkani and Marathi in a building, which was built in the Church compound. This school was carried on for some years when it was decided to invite the Holy Cross Order from Amraoti to take it over and run it as English school of secondary education. The Bombay University recognized the school for sending students for its matriculation examination. They ran it up to the merger of the State in the Dominion of India.

Society in second quarter of the century

The society of Sawantwadi had changed gradually from 1850 to 1920. For all these years, the environment of the State in which its people

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42. The copy of the speech of L.M. Nogueira in his own writing delivered on March 3, 1926, in "Abolition of Padroado and Transfer to Propoganda Mission, 1926 – 1953", a file in possession of Leo Fernandez, Sawantwadi.

had to make their living began to undergo a sweeping alteration. The farmers had to go to unknown places in search of employment. At first they went to Belgaum or Kolhapur for jobs in the army of the British. A little later they went to Mauritius across the Sea and to Aden. Then they began to in *padavs* and *galbats* to Mumbai and Karachi. The places were quite strange for them to live and work. A few decades later they started to go in larger numbers in steam ships and railways when the sea route had stopped. There was a tremendous pressure on them to leave their peaceful, safe and homely atmosphere of their village life. They went away to work in a strange place and to live and move about in the unknown world. They ventured on this surrounding and made their small money to support their families at home. Such an atmosphere was leaving a strong impression on their life and attitudes to unknown living. In those seventy years they had changed quite a lot and carried the changes to their people in innumerable ways.

But it was quite natural for them not to forget their methods of raising food from their soil. These remained the same except for using the natural and artificial manures for the land. They also began to use a number of new seeds to produce a larger crop. They began to use money for paying their *kameries* and to pay the State revenues. They had stopped using the wooden grinding wheels for husking the grain as they could get the work done by the husking machines, which had been working in sufficient numbers. But the work of agriculture and taking care of the cattle remained what it had been.

The work of cooking also remained without change. It is true that the people had more of the brass and copper plates and tumblers. There were similarly more of the *German silver* or aluminium utensils and more of copper and brass vessels. But the *chulas* were used with the split wood and sticks for the fire.

The style of dress had undergone a change depending on the economic standing of the person. One could see a *dhoti* with a modern shirt worn by most of the people. Some of the people wore a modern coat with the shirt hanging out of it. It was the fashion to wear a black *topi*, which was to be worn by students also. The more politically advanced people wore the Gandhi cap. And people in the towns and some people in the villages wore pyjamas of white cloth, a shirt of modern fashion with the tails hanging and a black or Gandhi cap. Some people wore a cotton or woolen coat stitched in the Western fashion over a *dhoti* or *lehnga* with the

shirt tails hanging out and a *topi*. Boys wore a half pant, a shirt and a topi. The girls wore a frock. Women wore a nine yards saree with a fashionable blouse. They also wore sandals.

The Christian spinsters wore a *ghagra* or petticoat, which was tucked in at the back. They looked very colourful in the red or yellow coloured design of the cloth they made the *ghagras*. In 1940 the Catholic women had given up wearing the *vol* or veil of two pieces of cloth. The younger girls used to wear a veil while going to church, which was mostly given up by the end of the period. The Catholic men coming from Mumbai wore western dress whereas the men wore the shirt with the tail tucked in the trousers. A few of them wore shoes on the non-rainy days.

The women of Sawantwadi, irrespective of the caste to which they belonged, wore flowers in the neatly combed and tied in an *ambada* or knot and plats of hair. The flowers were *abolim, chameli, shevanti, mogra, jai, jui, champa, bakuli, butmogra, ketaki* and the most popular *gulab*. They were woven in varied plats and brought to the bazaar on weekdays and especially on Tuesday, the weekly bazaar day. They were taken to Church on festivals and used for decorating the altar gorgeously.

Dwellings and domestic life

The houses the average people lived in should give us an idea of the sanitary conditions in which they were brought up. R.K. Toraskar, State Engineer of Sawantwadi State during the period of Khem Sawant V and the Regency of Rani Parvatidevi writes in Vainateya, "When one steps in the yard after crossing the wicket, he does not want to be told that the householder is fond of keeping chickens. There is heaps of rubbish preserved at the paves of the yard with the usual cow dung lying close. When climbing steps into the veranda, he cannot miss seeing on both sides the mesh that is created by gargling water from the mouth or the decoration, which is attempted by continuous spitting after chewing betel leaves.

"If there is a wooden broad swing or a bench in the veranda, then there are under them leaves meant for eating from thrown about carelessly ... the wooden swing painted with layer upon layer of oil plastered on the head, the wall painted with betel leaf spitting, a hookah resting against it, a soiled loin cloth, a short dhoti, a sleeveless jacket, a short cotton shirt, a short turban which has been dirtied by oil and perspiration, a piece of

cloth, a torn quilt, a hook, a small wood-bill, another wood-bill with a stick as a handle and useful things are scattered without any reason.

"An empire of darkness is ruling in the eating room. Near the water pot and others meant for cooking is the ground sodden with water being dropped over and over again. And the metal pot which is lying on the ground is dipped into the water pot to quench ones thirst ... The ash spreads on the ground near the Chula and the fuel wood is arranged near by. Grass bundles of rice and seed are arranged on a wooden plank or bench. On the foot high earthen platform by the fire place there can be seen earthen pots, kitchen rags, cashew seeds, a half of coconut, a blow pipe, a pan, a flat headed ladle, coconut oil, or a bottle of sesamum oil thrown about ... A hollow wooden basin to drain the rice is kept near by. Next to it is a metal plate to cool the rice water. You can see the mess created by the rice water. Rice pots resting on rounds of grass, the flat pot of curry, the hollow bowls, the spoons made of coconut shell, are lying carelessly.

"If there is a room for resting, it is so small as to allow no room to sleep by stretching ones legs. There is a window for letting in the light or breeze but it is so tiny that one cannot insert ones head through it.

"If there is any veranda on the back, then it is used to keep hay or wood or to tie the cattle. ... There is a height of rubbish and uncleanliness in the backyard. ... One cannot bear to look at the hen coup. The water let out from the kitchen and bathroom gives a dirty smell. Even if there is a separate cattle enclosure, there is close to it a pit for throwing the cow dung. The rotting dung in it is spread with the noise of flies."[43]

The people lived in joint families headed by the patriarch. The average age until death was fifty years. A man might marry more than a wife depending upon his having no child from his first wife or the first wife having only daughters and no sons. A rich man would have more wives for pleasure.

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43. R.K. Toraskar, "Our Houses" in *Vainateya*, March 1[illegible], 1941, Year 17, No. 15, pp. 3 and 4.

Chapter 10

PUBLIC HEALTH AND MEDICAL ATTENTION.

PUBLIC HEALTH AND MEDICAL ATTENTION were not the concern of any government in the world before the middle of the nineteenth century. It was in the year 1847 that such men as Edwin Chadwick stimulated the British Parliament to pass the Public Health Act.[1] Governments of other countries followed this example and they began to adopt measures to protect their subjects from illnesses and epidemic diseases according to their abilities. However, even in 1900, the attention given to world health situation was far from satisfactory. Most of the endemic diseases were still common, and at times they caused serious epidemics with high mortality.[2]

But, since 1925, the interest in public health began to grow at a faster pace. The advanced countries had made tremendous progress in the field of fighting the epidemics. And, on June 22, 1946, the World Health Organization had come into existence. It defined public health as "the science and art of preventing disease, prolonging life, and promoting health and efficiency through organized community efforts."[3] This was indeed the objective of the people of the world for almost twenty-five years before.

The interest in public health in the nineteenth and the first two decades of the twentieth century was quite natural as the preceding two centuries of scientific learning had revealed to the world the nature of epidemics and other illnesses and the methods of combating them through community efforts. Jenner had discovered that vaccinating the infants with cowpox vaccine could control smallpox. Haffkine, whose name has been given to the Haffkine Institute in Mumbai, had discovered the inoculation against plague. So was it proved that medicines and hygienic living could combat cholera, typhoid, influenza, and a host of other diseases. The British who ruled India at that time began to adopt these remedies to the Indian subjects according to their ability both medicinal and economic. They carried the humanitarian and modern approach to Indian states and so was Sawantwadi able to have a government who cared for medical

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1. J.S. Simmons, "Mr. LeBar and World Health" in *Public Health in the World Today*, edited by the same author, p. 11.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 13.
3. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol. 18, 1973, p. 823.

attention and public health of the subjects. But the efforts made were limited by the funds they could expend for the purpose.

People start getting medical attention

In 1838, the British government took over the administration of the State from the Sardesai and remained in control till the rulership was handed over to Khem Sawant V in 1924. The earliest mention we get of the prevalence of fevers of the remitting and intermitting types among the people is in the *Memoir on the Sawunt Waree State* that was published in 1855.[4]

Till 1839, there was only one Native Medical Assistant at Sawantwadi and no regular medical department nor dispensaries were opened. In that year, Dr. Spencer was appointed as the Medical Officer to render medical assistance to the people of the State. A first Hospital Assistant was appointed in 1851 and, in 1853, a Civil Hospital was erected at Sawantwadi at the cost of Rs. 935. In 1854, a matron was appointed to the hospital.[5] The hospital was on a high airy site. It was an irregular shaped red-stone building plastered with cement, with room for twenty-four patients and twelve female patients in enclosure behind. A few people sought admission and it was used by the sick of the Local Corps.[6]

Medical reports and prevalence of malaria

In 1866, owing to the epidemic malarial fever throughout the southeastern and eastern parts of the State, two temporary dispensaries were opened to combat the ravages of the fever. A dispensary was opened at Kudal in 1881 for supplying the medical needs of the fever stricken villages in Kudal Petha. In 1882, a dispensary was opened at Banda. A special ward known as Dalgado Ward was opened at the Westropp Civil Hospital and the same year a Leper Asylum was opened.[7]

A report on the medical history of the State from 1859 by Dr. Barjorji Ardesar, who was the Assistant Surgeon in the medical service of the State, is available in the Bombay Gazetteer.[8] The prevailing endemic

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4. W. Courtney and J.W. Auld, *Memoir on the Sawunt Waree State*, p. 47.
5. *Sawantwadi State Records*, (Hereafter *SSR*), *R-48/FH 1/826, History of Sawantwadi State,* No.2844, April 20, 1929.
6. *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Vol. X, Ratnagiri and Sawantwadi*, (Hereafter *GBP Sawantwadi*), p. 469.
7. *SSR/History of Sawantwadi.*
8. *GBP, Sawantwadi*, p. 461.

diseases, it says, were malarial fever, stomach and bowel complaints, coughs, intestinal worms, itch, dysentery and diarrhea. To some extent chicken pox, sporadic smallpox, measles and venereal diseases spread among the people. Constipation, colic and dyspepsia were common and were traced to their unwholesome diet and dull and sedentary life.[9]

Cholera made its appearance in 1859 and 66 persons died in the town of Sawantwadi. A person first complained of acute and severe pain in the abdomen, then he prostrated, the pulsation ceased, the skin grew cold and clammy, and two or three purgings and vomiting ended in death. It reappeared in 1865 and was confined to the town and its suburbs. About 137 cases occurred of which 64 or 47 per cent were fatal.[10]

The rainy months of 1863, 1864 and 1865 were characterized by a great prevalence of malarial fever. The tract of country to the south and east was the most affected. From the south the fever gradually spread as far north as Shivapur and the foot of the Hanmant pass, apparently increasing at the opening of each rainy season and falling off at its close. Though the type of fever was mostly simple intermittent, it was of a greater strength than had ever before been known. It yielded to quinine and had no special peculiarities, but when the treatment was not long enough continued, relapses were common. The number of deaths in 1865 in the division of Sawantwadi was 1672 or two per cent of the population, in Banda 260 or three per cent, and in Kudal 623 or one per cent.[11] In the rains of 1873, there was a great and general prevalence of dysentery and diarrhea. About 850 cases were reported in the town of Sawantwadi from June to September. Of these fifty-three or about six per cent were said to have died.[12]

Extent of health aid available

There were only three hospitals and one dispensary in the State in 1877. During 1878, 6,512 patients were treated in the civil hospital. In 1879, 4,935 persons, 672 of them in-door and 4,263 out-door, were treated. Nine major and 111 minor surgical operations were performed with success. In the jail hospital, 144 convicts were treated in 1877 and 216 in 1878. Medicines like quinine and chlorodyne were supplied to the

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9. *Ibid.*, p. 460.
10. *Ibid.*
11. *Ibid.*, pp. 460-461.
12. *Ibid.*

chief constables or *fouzdars* who sold them in the outlying villages.[13] The total number of vaccinations in 1873-74 was 5181. 1247 of these were vaccinated when they were under one year of age and 3,934 of more than one year. In 1879-80, 3,862 were vaccinated and of them 1,043 received their vaccinations under one year and 2,819 above one year.[14]

The total number of deaths in the five years ending 1878-79 was 19,488. This meant the average yearly mortality of 3,897 or of 2.05 per cent of the population. Of the average number of deaths 2,611 or 67.8 per cent were due to fevers; 217 or 5.5 per cent due to bowel complaints; 82 or 2.1 per cent to cholera; 19 or .04 per cent to smallpox; 192 or 4.9 per cent due to dysentery; and 725 or 18.6 per cent to miscellaneous diseases. Deaths from violence or accidents were 47 or 1.2 per cent. The five yearly births were 18,678 souls of whom 9,805 were males and 8,873 were females. The average yearly birth rate came to 1.9 per cent.[15]

Sawantwadi attacked by virulent malaria

The territory of Sawantwadi was continuously attacked by virulent malaria except for the extreme west. Outside this region, all three Pethas had been attacked at different times and these attacks could be traced back to 1863. The deaths from malaria in 1865 in relation to the total population as being three per cent in Banda, two per cent in Wadi and one per cent in Kudal have been mentioned earlier. Col. Godfrey described malaria as having committed havoc in Banda at some date between 1877 and 1884. In 1884, the Wadi classification work was broken up by malaria as stated by Gibson. From 1884 onwards malaria entrenched itself deeply in the country between Manohar-Wadi ridge and the northern boundary of the Wadi Petha as far west as the Narur ridges. Finally it came to dominate the whole area from Wasoli in the east to Kandoli in the southwest and Tulsali Taruf Narur in the northwest. From about 1900 onwards malaria moved northwards into Kudal Petha, in which it gradually penetrated as far north as Kalsuli-Kasal ridge and in the west almost to the Kasal-Kudal road. But in this region the decline in population caused by malaria had never been so severe as in Wadi Petha. While moving north into Kudal malaria also moved westward into Kaleli and Mangaon, and then traveling southeast, broke across the Manohar-Wadi ridge and went

13. *Ibid.*.
14. *Ibid.*
15. *Ibid.*

across its southern foot as far as Sangeli. This period of 1900 to 1910 was also marked by a serious detached outbreak in the village of Kesari, which is far south of the Manohar-Wadi ridge. From 1910 and particularly from 1916 when the death rate of the State rose from 22.4 to 26.1 per thousand, malaria went due south of Mangaon into Akeri, Kolgaon and Sawantwadi. In about 1922, it had begun to move south of Sawantwadi Town into Banda Petha and had attacked Insuli. Excepting for some mild outbreaks in the Hewalem Taruf, that is the extreme south east of the Petha, Banda had been free from virulent malaria since 1884.[16]

Epidemic smallpox, cholera and plague

The epidemics the people were most afraid of were smallpox, cholera and plague. There were also cases of dysentery and diarrhea. These they tried to control by adopting the Epidemic Diseases Act of 1897, on the lines of India Act III of 1897.[17] The Sawantwadi Village Sanitation Act of 1898 was extended to the towns of Kudal and Banda by the end 1899 by L. Prendergast Walsh, the next Political Superintendent.[18] The people were compelled to give vaccines to infants before they completed six months. There was revaccination, which was provided, but most people avoided it. There were inoculations in case of the outbreak of cholera but the majority of the population avoided these. Plague cases were imported into the State from any place above the ghats. And persons coming into the territory by the Amboli or Ramghat roads were not allowed inside without a pass from the inspecting stations there.[19]

Major H. M. Abud reported to the Government of the Bombay Presidency on December 11, 1897 that there were two cases of plague of which one had been fatal. A month later, Prendergast Walsh reported a case imported from Belgaum, which was fatal, and in May he reported another case from the same source which was also fatal. In October he reported 15 cases, which occurred at Shirwab in Banda Petha, situated near the foot of the Talkat Ghat. Five of them had died, seven were under treatment at the Plague Hospital and four had been discharged. The huts

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16. *SSR/R 32/ Revenue Settlement, 1922-24, Population and Health*, pp. 12-13.
17. *SSR/R 20/Savantwadi Darbari Gazette*, (Hereafter SDG), *1897-98*, December 15, 1897, Year 7, No. 34, Supplement, p. 1.
18. *Ibid., 1899-1900*, December 6, 1899, Year 9, No. 33, p. 1.
19. *Ibid., 1898-99*, November 16, 1898, Year 8, No. 30, p. 3.

of those who were affected and their clothes had been burnt to prevent the spread of the disease.[20]

As a remedy on Bubonic plague, it was announced that the sanitation should be kept clean and the dirt should be burnt. If a Christian or Muslim died of plague, he should be buried in a grave as deep as possible. All covers and dresses of the person should be burnt, a fire should be made in the room where he died, it should be cleaned with substance which is poison destroying, the walls should be white washed and the floor should be dug and repaired again. If the patient was constipated, then the adult was to be given one tola of castor oil, that is, *yerandel.* This notice was published in 1897 with the signature of H.M. Abud.[21] A reward of Rupees two was announced to any person belonging to the police, village officers, all officials and the general public for giving information which would lead to the discovery of a plague case.[22] The Plague Committee declared that Mumbai City, Belgaum, Ratnagiri District and Kolhapur State to have been infected with plague and authorized Math, Tulas, Amboli and Nerurpar and several officers as Plague Authorities.[23] People were warned against the deposition of bodies of dead animals or refuse or filth in channels or spring which feed any tank, well or reservoir of water set apart for drinking. And they should not allow accumulation of filth or refuse which was likely to afford shelter to the rats to breed vermin.[24]

The appearance of plague in Pandharpur was noticed in November 1904. Pandharpur was one of the most popular places of pilgrimage to Shri Vithal, which almost every individual in Maharashtra wanted to go to. The government by a circular ordered that no one should go to the forthcoming Kartiki Ekadashi pilgrimage. Those who had gone should be carefully examined when they returned and their clothes and belongings should be examined before they entered their houses.[25]

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20. *Maharashtra State Archives* (Hereafter *MSA) / General Department/Plague, G 53, 1898, Bubonic Plague, Progress Reports, Sawantwadi*, p. 194.
21. *SSR/R 20/Gazette, 1897-98*, November 10, 1897, Year 7, No. 29, p. 2.
22. *Ibid., 1898-99*, September 21, 1898, Year 8, No. 22, p. 3.
23. *SSR/R 52/Gazette, 1906-1907*, November 14, 1906, Year 18, No. 33, p. 350.
24. *Ibid., 1907-1908*, August 7, 1907, Year 19, No. 19, p. 169.
25. *Ibid., 1904-1905*, November 16, 1904. Year 16, No. 33, p. 68.

Causes of plague and vaccination discovered

Plague victims developed a bubo or gland swelling in the groin, the armpit or the neck. This would lead to his death Dr. Goheen said that the overall mortality rate was about ninety per cent of those who became infected. The plague was primarily a disease of rats and other rodents but cats, larger animals and men were attacked by it. Upon the death of an animal, its fleas forsook it, carrying bacilli with them, and attached themselves to another living body like a rat, another animal or a human being. Thousands of human lives, nay hundreds of thousands in a single year, had been taken by the deadly bacillus pestis.[26] The armamentarium consisted of five main weapons: rat extermination, inoculation, evacuation, segregation and disinfection. Traps would usually be the best method but the cleaning and handling of them was difficult. The most rapid method was poisoning with barium carbonate made up into pellets with rice flour.[27]

Inoculation with plague vaccine prepared in the H (Haffkine) Institute in Mumbai was a tremendous boon to India. Millions of lives had been saved by this one preventive measure alone.[28] But since the early product proved to be dangerous and caused deaths and that too at a time when nationalism had started rising in the last years of the nineteenth century, the people feared that the British government were, by these inoculations, trying to weaken them. It was necessary for doctors who initiated the inoculations during the first epidemic to have injections first before the public. Dr. Goheen thus narrated how every member of his family and practically all the hospital staff were thus inoculated. For the following week they were a sorry lot. That early vaccine produced marked febrile reactions and very painful arms. But that was necessary in order to persuade the people that it was necessary to receive the inoculation. As experience was gained, the vaccines were improved. The highly protective value of this measure soon became widely recognized in the whole of India.[29]

The people were scared when they noticed that a rat had fallen in their house or in the surrounding ones. When it was found that the rat had been infected with plague, they went to stay in houses in the surrounding areas. The epidemic went on raging for some months or one or two years

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26. Robert H.H. Goheen, *Vision and Vocation*, p. 38.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 39.
28. *Ibid.*
29. *Ibid.*

killing a large number of people. The people were given poison pellets to be spread in the house and taking the fallen rats for examination. Once the rats had been killed and the cases of plague had vanished would the householders return to their home.

In 1919 there were 142 cases of cholera with 105 deaths and in 1920 there were 36 cases with 29 deaths.[30] Nothing was done for the prevention of cholera except the administration of small amounts of anti-cholera vaccine when the town or the village seemed threatened with an outbreak of the disease.[31] Typhoid fever was reported but this and all other fevers were reported only as 'fevers'. It was impossible even vaguely to determine anything about the extent of typhoid. None of the classical typhoid tests were ever resorted to nor was preventive inoculation employed.[32]

Superstition grips panic-stricken people

The people in the villages were filled with terror when epidemics and death walked rampant. Only the rich and well connected could afford injections at eight annas a piece. Some decided the gods had not been appeased. They went in a procession of men, women and children to every idol in the village and bathed them with water to the shouting and beating of drums. There was a cart filled with coconuts and choice food. There were half a dozen people who were possessed with the spirit of some god, dancing and going through some strange contortions. On a small platform there was the goddess of cholera who must leave the village. She was escorted to a lonely place outside the village after having been offered a cartload of coconuts, rice, 'porlia' (delectable sweet pancakes known as "*pola*") and other good food. Since the mission doctor had got serum and was inoculating all comers free of charge, the people were glad to take their place.[33]

So also the people carried a masculine deity, which presided over plague in a simple axle with wheels. This was taken in procession to the

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30. *The Rockefeller Foundation Archives* (Hereafter *RFA*) *5 International Health Board/Division* (Hereafter *5*)*/ 3 Reports, Routine* (Hereafter *3*), John F. Kendrick, "A Report on the Health Conditions in Sawantwadi State, 1929", p. 9.
31. *Ibid.*
32. *Ibid.*
33. *Department of History and Record Management Services (Hereafter DHRMS) /* A.R. Bryan, "How the Goddess of Cholera Came Back", in *Western India Notes,* IX, No.3, April 1928, pp. 1314-1315.

music of tom-toms, and conveyed to some safe place by the roadside outside the limits of the village. As the epidemic spread, practically the whole populace did the unusual and the wisest thing - to quit their rat-infested houses and moved out into the open fields, where they put up shacks for temporary shelter.[34]

Most strenuous efforts had been made to appease the gods and have the plague removed. Day after day, the gods were carried about the streets, with dancing and music. Some of the people were sorely disappointed that the pest was not stayed. And expressing condemnation of the leaders of the worship and those who danced under the influence of the deity, they seized one of the gods, locked it in one room and beat the dancers.[35]

Dr. Govind and Bata Hospital

Vengurla had been a port of the State of Sawantwadi, which was taken over by the British government. But the town became important as it came to have a centre of medical institutions from the beginning of the twentieth century. The St. Luke's Hospital, which became famous in Sawantwadi, Goa and the surrounding territory even up to Bombay, had a Tuberculosis Sanatorium and a Leprosarium.

Dr. Robert H.H. Goheen, who was born in Kolhapur in 1880, had started all these institutions. He was the son of an American missionary. Dr. William Wanless, who had started the famous Miraj Medical Centre and later on was knighted by the British, and was persuaded by him to join the mission, met Dr. Goheen. After he had spent a short while at Miraj, Dr. Goheen was posted at Vengurla in 1907.[36]

He started a dispensary in 1907 in a little rented house in Vengurla. There was opposition to Christian influences, which had been very strong, manifested by threatening letters calling him *Bata*, which meant a converter to Christianity and occasionally throwing stones. One of the Brahmin priests from the temple stood each morning in front of the dispensary and tried to turn away those who were going in.[37] Yet the

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34. *DHRMS* / Mary (Stewart) Marshall, "Memoirs of a Medical Missionary in Western India, 1900-1934", Ms. p. 57.
35. *DHRMS / General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.*, (Hereafter *GAPC, USA)1907, Reports of the Boards, Vol. 2 : Western India - Vengurle*, p. 217.
36. R.F.G., "Preface" in Robert H.H. Goheen, *Vision and Vocation*, Ms., p. ii.
37. *DHRMS* / Robert H.H. Goheen, "Vengurla: A Rough Sketch of its Missionary History", *Ms.RG 401-49-50, Central Files*, p. 1.

dispensary was growing from year to year and in 1912 had a total of 9,455 patients consisting of 6,307 males and 3,148 females. In the hospital and plague camp there had been 210 in-patients and 126 visits to homes. There were expenses of Rs.3, 848 of which Rs. 1, 963 were collected on the fields and Rs.1, 885 were received from the Board's appropriations.[38] The old camp hospital was proving to be quite inadequate and the new St. Luke's Hospital was planned. Of the total of about Rs. 70,000 secured, Sawantwadi State gave Rs. 5,000. In 1914, the buildings were completed.[39] The new hospital was opened in 1915, to accommodate 75 patients. It was overcrowded in the fair weather, and was hardly considered 'full' unless the aisles in the wards were strewn with mattresses for 25 to 50 odd that could not be given cots. A cottage for European patients was added. The children's ward and the nursery near the women's ward were of special interest to visitors. There were also splendid opportunities for the special training of the nurses.[40]

The Leprosarium for the residence and treatment of lepers was started in 1918. Eighty-one had been cared for here and 44 were in residence in 1923. Injections were given two or three times a week to each patient.[41] The lepers were a cheery group of patients with each of them having their particular work to do. Some were farmers, and raised peanuts and beans, pumpkins, grains and flowers. Others were interested in poultry culture and so it was being encouraged. Still others were masons, carpenters or labourers, and they had been busy on new buildings to improve the living conditions. They had completed a water tank, the building of a latrine with a septic tank, a kitchen and a new men's ward, as well as the beginning of a small carpenter's shop for the men.[42]

Among the diseases most prevalent in this district was tuberculosis. It was becoming more and more prominent as the "Captain of the Men of Death." This was accounted for largely by the vast numbers of men who, leaving their homes and free life in the open air, went to Bombay and Karachi to work in mills and offices. A dusty and smoky atmosphere, crowded quarters, drunkenness and debauch united to undermine health.

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38. *DHRMS / GAPC, USA / 1912, Part II, Reports of the Boards, Western India-Vengurle*, p. 282.
39. *DHRMS /* Robert H.H. Goheen, "Vengurla, A Rough Sketch of its Missionary History", pp. 2-3.
40. *DHRMS /* Robert H.H. Goheen, "Vengurla", in *Western India Notes*, Year 5, No.5, December 1923, p. 5.
41. *Ibid.*, p. 6.
42. *DHRMS / Teaching and Learning, Annual Report for 1926, Western India Mission*, pp. 54-55.

As the Konkan did not support its population by its agricultural produce, these men had to go elsewhere to earn a livelihood for themselves and for their families, but many of them paid the heavy price indicated above.[43]

Pulmonary tuberculosis, while decreasing in the West, was certainly increasing in India. A delightful site was secured for the Hillside Sanatorium in 1919 and buildings were started for the segregation and care of patients with this affliction. Fresh breezes, abundant sunlight, and its own quota of birds were the additional features. One ward each for men and women, and four private cottages accommodated 22 patients.[44]

The townspeople were beginning to appreciate the privilege of well-trained girls in their maternity cases. More and more expectant mothers were going to the hospitals early for advice and treatment. Before this, only midwives had the preference. People were beginning to realize that the service of well-trained individuals was extremely important for their own interest and welfare, as well as for their children.[45]

Dr. Goheen a surgical legend

The medical and surgical treatment of Dr. Goheen had become legendary in the areas surrounding Vengurla. Most common people in Sawantwadi knew him as Dr. Govind and his former name as *'Bato'* was clean forgotten. The treatment he offered to patients who had no hope of survival was so much in advance of his times that it could be described as inspired. There is a uniformly fatal form of malignant malaria, which is called cerebral malaria known as blackwater fever. Fairly early in Dr. Goheen's medical career as he was traveling back on a ship, a British army officer came down with cerebral malaria. Although intravenous quinine had not been used up to that time, with nothing to lose, Dr. Goheen compounded some on the spot, and several doses later that patient was in remission. Intravenous quinine is still the treatment of choice, 90 years later, according to Dr. William E. Lucas.[46]

Dr. Lucas describes another episode that occurred around 1926. During a torrential monsoon downpour, a telegram came from the chief medical officer in Goa, Dr. DeMello, "...please come at once, my wife is

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43. *Ibid.*, p. 283.
44. *DHRMS* / Robert H.H. Goheen, "Vengurla", in *Western India Notes*, Year 5, No. 5, December 1923, p. 6.
45. *DHRMS* / *Western India Mission, Teaching and Learning, Annual Report for 1926*, p. 54.
46. Letter to Dr. Robert F. Goheen from Dr. William E. Lucas dated July 29, 1996.

dying..." With his surgical nurse, a trunk full of instruments, saline solution, and ether for anaesthesia, he went to DeMello's home. He quickly diagnosed massive intra-abdominal hemorrhage due to a ruptured ectopic pregnancy with the patient in deep shock. Dr. Goheen had no alternative but to operate on the kitchen table. He did all the things a doctor would do and while he operated he collected as much blood as possible in a large basin, filtered it through cheese cloth, and infused it back into the patient. This was done in 1926 when blood transfusion was done only in the late 1930's. Mrs. DeMello went on to have another child after the emergency surgery.[47]

Dr. Goheen was a friend of Khemraj V and Rani Parvatidevi. He used to visit them and stay for dinner. He accompanied them during the hunts for tigers in the machans. He performed a surgical operation in Sawantwadi and delivered lectures on malaria. tuberculosis and hygiene in Marathi with the help of a magic lantern. He was in Vengurla till 1939, was transferred to Miraj where he stayed till 1944.

Lunatic and leper asylums in Sawantwadi

There was also a lunatic asylum and a leper asylum built in the State of Sawantwadi. There is some mention of the lunatics in the Administration Reports of the State but there is no reference to any treatment that was given to them. The leper asylum had inmates who were there for the paltry meals they were provided with. There was a large enough ground for them with shelters to live in and a doctor, when one was available, to supervise over the arrangements.

Khem Sawant V takes over

This was the health situation in Sawantwadi in 1924 when Khemraj V took over the administration from the Political Agent. It was for 86 years that the British had ruled over the State. They had made significant changes in the old administration giving it a look of modernity and order. This was to be carried on by Khemraj V who was known for his sharp intellect and modest behaviour and was trusted by his equals and superiors to take a broad administrative approach. He was well aware of the problems of health in the State and decided that malaria, the fever

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47. *Ibid.*

about which not enough had been known or done so far, should receive his prior most attention.

How malaria did the damage

Till the turn of the twentieth century there was sparsely anything that was known about malaria, its origin and its effects on human beings in Tal Konkan. It was quite surprising that Dr. Goheen, an American citizen, who was coming to Vengurla after receiving the M.D. from the University of Chicago, thought of acquainting himself with the epidemic which had been harassing the people among whom he had to practise. Before coming to India, he attended lectures of Sir Patrick Manson, Head of the School of Tropical Medicine in London," who, while in China, had reached the conclusion that malaria was very probably transmitted by mosquitoes. Major Ronald Ross confirmed this later by finding the parasites in Anopheles mosquitoes, but in no other species, and he traced the spores' development in the wall of a mosquito's stomach into larvae forms that migrated into the salivary glands and thence were injected through the proboscis into the human blood stream. There another cycle of development occurs when the parasite divides and bursts out of the red cells, producing the allergic shock to the host that is manifested in chills and fever. The new young parasites re-enter other red cells - a Tertian-type of parasite having a cycle that occurs every third day, most commonly, while Quartan-type parasite's cycle produces chills every fourth day. A mixture of strains may produce daily chills. ... The parasite is therefore not a germ that can be transmitted by air, water, or food but is most likely a miniature animate cell transmitted by mosquitoes. This was one of the first breakthroughs in modern medicine, and it has been able to save millions of lives. It was invaluable to me who later found villages almost decimated by malaria, but with appropriate methods of dealing with the water in lakes, swamps, and streams - and even in buckets and tin cans - and by treating the surviving inhabitants with appropriate amounts of quinine, the disease could be brought under control. I learnt much there, too, in London about plague, cholera, smallpox, and filariasis that was to be useful later on."[48]

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48. Robert H.H. Goheen, *Vision and Vocation*, p. 7.

Dr. Strickland's survey and suggested measures

Subsequent to the influenza epidemic of 1918, there was an increase in malaria epidemic in places, which apparently had not been malarious before. And Government requested Dr. C. Strickland to make a survey and suggest measures for control. The survey was made in March and April 1922, and a report was made to the Government. He also published it in the Indian Medical Gazette, Volume LVIII, and No. 1, January 1923. He showed that the villages immediately at the foot of the spurs of the Ghats were immensely malarious that those lying in the broken hilly country distinct from the Deccan spurs were only slightly malarious and that malaria in the villages on the flat or gently undulating country away from the hills was also very slight. Dr. Strickland considered that A. maculatus was probably the chief malaria carrier in the State. And since this species will not breed in the dense shade, but require sunlit breeding places, he suggested that the increase of malaria in the State during recent years might be attributable to the cutting down of jungle in the land adjoining the villages. He therefore recommended that the hill-nullas and hill-foot springs should be allowed to revert to their natural condition, the ideal to be aimed at being a ribbon of jungle all along the course of the streams. He also included more specific recommendations for control in Sawantwadi town.[49]

Separate malaria department started

A qualified Malaria Medical Officer was appointed in July 1922 and control work was started in Sawantwadi town and seven more villages and in subsequent years two more villages were added. A start had been made on a spleen and anopheline survey of the State and rural quinine centres were opened in endemic areas. A certain amount of work suggested by Dr. Strickland was carried out but a small and poorly organized staff did it. Certain recommendations as to draining of two swampy areas, the prohibition of paddy growing within municipal limits and the use of a motor launch to control mosquito breeding in the tank, had not been carried out. The Moti Talao, which occupied the centre of the town, was drained, on Dr. Strickland's recommendation, and remained dry until

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49. *SSR/R 34/F 608/ Malaria*, A note by Dr. Major G. Covell, Malarial Survey of India, p. 1.

early 1931. The greatest expenditure on this work was Rs. 21,365 in 1923-24.[50]

In Sawantwadi town, the number of malaria cases treated in the Westropp Civil Hospital was double that of 1919, and in 1921, was about four times as great. In later years the number declined sharply till in 1929, which was about half the 1919 number. The spleen rates in Sawantwadi town fell off rapidly. The lowest spleen rate since 1922 was 4.5 per cent in early 1933.[51]

The measures taken by the anti-malaria department were classified under Research and Executive. All these works were carried out under the immediate guidance of Khem Sawant V. Malaria Medical Officer visited 103 villages in the State that year for the purpose of work. Spleen census was taken and mosquito catches were made in all the villages. The result of spleen census showed that all the villages visited in the tarafs of Mangaon except Majgaon and Karyad, Charathe, Nerur, Shivapur, Bhadgaon Khurd, Kadawal, Kinlos, Hirlok, Girgaon, Kusgaon only in Kalsuli taraf, Kesari, Upaode and Pulas only in Manohar taraf and Khanyale and Girode in Usap taraf had high percentage ranging from 40 per cent to 100 per cent. While the remaining villages visited in Kalsuli and Manohar taraf, Bordave, Talavda, Satarde and Banda tarafs had very low percentages.[52]

The spots, which revealed different kinds of mosquito breeding, were found mostly in nullas and fields, and both of them were found to have bred maculatus, which is a very bad carrier of malaria. Similarly, examination of possible breeding places was carried out in the town of Sawantwadi, with the result that swamps and contour drains in the Moti Talao tank, when empty as well as when it was filled up for some days, hill-fast nullas in Juna Bazaar and Salaiwada, paddy fields growing monsoon as well as waingan (dry season) crop, irrigating channels in hill-foot fields, gymkhana and encamping grounds, and pucca and kutcha wells where were found to be breeding places of one or other kinds of anopheles mosquito. Out of them all, excepting paddy fields growing

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50. *RFA / 5/3/ 464 . 4 India (Sawantwadi) /* W.C. Sweet, "A Report on Malaria in Sawantwadi State", p. 3.
51. *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5.
52. *Shri Pancham Khemraj Mahavidyalay Library* (Hereafter *SPKML*) / *Administration Report of the Sawantwadi State, 1924-25*, (Hereafter *ARSS*), p. 6..

waingan crop, irrigating channels and some wells were found to contain bad carriers, such as maculatus, Theobaldi and culicifacies.[53]

Executive operations were carried out in the town of Sawantwadi and marginally situated eight villages of Majgaon, Charatha, Kolgaon, Akeri, Mangaon, Karavde, Pulas and Kesari. Those carried out in Sawantwadi were (1) training of swamps in the Moti Talao and nullas, (2) draining and oiling of swamps in the tank, uncultivated fields in Salaiwada and Khasgilwada near the hospital and gymkhana and encamping grounds, (3) sweeping and filling in of ponds and pools and removal of rank vegetation from the tank, (4) planting of screw pine and adulsa, extending for about half a mile, on the banks of the hill-foot nullas in Mathewada, Junabazar and Salaiwada. Similar anti-malaria operations were carried on in the eight villages listed above. Screw pine and adulsa plantations were made in Kaleli, Kanduli, More, Chapheli, Upaode, Gothos, Narur, Nileli, Nivje, Tulsuli and Kunkeri, but most of them were washed away during the rains owing to heavy floods. It was experienced that the accumulation of large quantity of water in nullas and streams by building temporary dams in them by the villages for growing waingan crops in the adjoining fields gave rise to the breeding places of anopheles in the streams and nullas.[54]

In a survey of 416 wells in the town of Sawantwadi, 365 of them pucca and 61 kuccha, 367 wells, 306 of them pucca and 61 kuccha, were examined. Out of them, 123 wells were found to breed anopheles mosquitoes. Wells situated near the hill-foots and in the side of the fields in Salaiwada and Sabniswada were found specially to breed them in large numbers and some of them were of the worst type like maculatus, theobaldi and culicifacies. Vegetation, which afforded shelter and facility for larvae growing, and frogs and big fish like maral were removed from all the affected wells and all were flocked with larvae-eating small fish. This resulted in most of them being subsequently found to be free to a very great extent of such anopheles larvae. Similarly, fish were inserted in the waingan fields in the town.[55]

Khem Sawant V said while replying to an address by the merchants of Kudal that while the State was making efforts to combat malaria, the

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53. *Ibid.*
54. *Ibid.*, p. 8.
55. *Ibid.*, pp. 30-32.

people were sometimes offering difficulties to them. It is difficult to make people understand what should be done for avoidance of the menace. It is important that they should do what is told to them in this case. The people of Sawantwadi town have been provided free with fish, which eat the larvae of the mosquitoes breeding in the water. But no one takes advantage of this. The people could not combat the evil without making a supreme effort of cooperating with the State officer.[56]

Rani Janakibai Maternity Home

On May 2, 1925, a maternity home was started in Sawantwadi and was housed in the Kazi Shahabuddin Institute for the time being. It was decided to have eight beds for the needs of the women. Dr. Goheen operated a woman to deliver a baby and he did not charge any fees in order to show his active sympathy with the maternity home.[57]

Rani Parvatidevi, while inaugurating the hospital, welcomed all the people to it. It was possible to run the hospital efficiently and cheaply because of the free services provided by the private doctors and those of the Westropp Civil Hospital. Dr. Goheen and Mathilda Rebentisch also assisted the hospital without charging any remuneration. It was decided to name the maternity home after Rani Janakibai, the mother of Khem Sawant V. It was announced that the building would be constructed by the State in partnership with the public who were to contribute by subscription an equal amount. Khem Sawant V donated Rupees five thousand from his private purse and Rani Parvatidevi donated Rupees three thousand.[58] The *Vainateya* published a report in 1928 that an amount of Rupees twenty-four thousand had been collected from the public till then.[59]

Khem Sawant V interviewed the Provisional Committee of Rani Janakibai Maternity Home on November 16, 1928 about the admissibility of prostitutes and bad characters to the services of the Home. It was however agreed that the constitution should provide that the said persons should be excluded until money could be raised from the home ground. It was made clear that the building would not be built by the State but from

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56. *Vainateya*, February 10, 1925, Year 1, No.16, p. 5.
57. *Vainateya*, September 1, 1925, Year 1, No. 44, p. 3.
58. *Vainateya*, November 3, 1927, Year 4, Special No., p. 2.
59. *Vainateya*, September 25, 1928, Year 4, No. 47, p. 5.

the Memorial Fund, as the opportunity occurs, and it was agreed that it was not possible to raise funds for the purpose.[60]

Medical statistics of later years

During 1929-30 the medical institutions treated 51,597 patients. There were 22,813 patients of malaria among these. The other most common diseases were round worms and of the digestive and respiratory systems. Of the cases treated, malaria was 44.2 per cent as against 47.3 during last year. Westropp Civil Hospital had 43.5 as against 48.5; Kudal dispensary had 18.4 as against 18.6, Banda dispensary 42.5 against 47.3, Mangaon dispensary 75.4 against 74.5, Keravde dispensary had 53.9 against 51.1 and Awalegaon dispensary had 33.9 per cent to 33.3 per cent last year. It is figures of this kind, which had made Khem Sawant V to give his favoured assistance to the anti-malaria programme of the State. The death per thousand in the malarious tract was 31.4.[61]

The statistics provided in the Administration Report of the government for 1924-25 says that there was no plague or cholera in the State that year. But there were 326 attacks of small pox as against 54 in the previous year and there were 37 deaths as compared to 9 the preceding year. During the year there were 6,637 persons primarily vaccinated and they were all successful. The number of births during the year was 7,510 and of deaths 4,714.[62] The number of attacks from smallpox was 112 with 15 persons having died. There were therefore vaccinations necessary and 6,563 persons were vaccinated primarily. Vaccination was compulsory in the State since 1893.[63]

There was no epidemic of plague in the State during the year. Only two rats were examined in Sawantwadi town and only one was infected with plague.[64] There was plague in Belgaum in August 1927 in which most of the people affected had died. In October, there were 95 persons who had plague and of these 68 had died.[65]

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60. The Palace / The Personal Diaries of Khem Sawant V, 1921 to 1937, (Hereafter *Diary*), November 16, 1928.
61. *ARSS, 1929-30,* pp. 24-25.
62. *ARSS, 1924-25,* pp. 33-34.
63. *Ibid.*, pp. 27-28.
64. *Ibid.*
65. *Vainateya*, November 15, 1927, Year 4, No. 3, p. 5.

Plague again

In Vengurla, in the month of August 1928, there was an increasing rate of plague rats falling and there were six cases of plague in a fortnight.[66] Khem Sawant V discussed with the Revenue Minister and the Chief Medical Officer on December 6, 1927 the matter of disinfecting the market place and the house in which a plague rat had fallen the previous night. The Chief Medical Officer had disinfected only the house. He asked the officers to get the plans for shifting the market to a place temporarily outside as was done previously in 1909 in case of necessity.[67]

There were no more deaths in Kudal except one more in the fortnight when Khem Sawant visited it in November 1928. But rats were falling daily in the market. The people in the market had shifted to outlying villages and most of them returned daily for work. But the darkness, which reigned inside the shops, hid the danger that might have lied there. The number of inoculations still left a good deal of room for improvement.[68]

In January 1933, a plague-rat had fallen in Durbar office record room, which was very close to the Palace, and so the Raja decided to stop at Amboli.[69] Plague was present in the town of Sawantwadi practically throughout the year of 1932-33. Seventeen persons were attacked by it and there were 12 deaths. All were importations from Bombay.[70]

It was found necessary to discuss the further measures for the eradication of plague in Sawantwadi town with the acting Diwan and President of the Sawantwadi Municipality. The discussion centred round the note by Dr. Sweet and the other by Dr. Shiveshwarkar. After doing this, Khem Sawant V went over to Vengurla to see Dr. Goheen. He showed him the notes on plague and gave him a general idea of the points dealt with in their discussion. Dr. Goheen personally seemed to be of the opinion that a thorough meeting with the estiminator was the best measure.[71]

In another interview, the Sawantwadi municipality was asked to explain the progress of plague measures. They said that baiting was in full swing and both the Diwan and the president of the municipality thought

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66. *Vainateya*, August 28, 1928, Year 4, No. 44, p. 5.
67. *Diary*, December 6, 1927.
68. *Diary*, November 7, 1928.
69. *Diary*, January 13, 1933.
70. *ARSS*, 1932-33, p. 33.
71. *Diary*, September 12, 1933.

that this was the main and best means to eradicate plague. The progress, they said, would be slow. Inoculation was not being resorted to as much as being desirable. But they thought that compulsory inoculation was not necessary. Cyanogas, other means of intimidation, was found expensive. The president asked for an extra grant for the plague and he was asked by the Raja to submit the matter officially to the Diwan with necessary statistics.[72] On June 25, 1934, Dr. Chitre of the Haffkine Institute in Bombay had been invited to Sawantwadi for a lecture and demonstration on cyanogas in anti-plague operations. Khem Sawant V attended the lecture.[73]

The plague menace continued to harass the people of Sawantwadi and Kudal for the end of the period. The last attack of plague before 1948 was in 1946 when people had to flee to faraway places in search of safety from the disease. It was found that it was prevalent in the British territories surrounding Sawantwadi. It was therefore arranged that the police should examine the people coming from Vengurla and other places affected with plague at Math. The suspicious people were not to be allowed to enter Sawantwadi without the permission of the Chief Medical Officer. If any resident of Vengurla desired coming to and staying at Sawantwadi, Kudal or Banda, the government doctor of that place should examine him. The goods coming from the territory infected by the disease was to be kept outside the town in the sun to dry and the suspicious persons and goods were to be examined by the town municipality in Sawantwadi and the sanitary boards at Kudal and Banda.[74]

Khem Sawant V discussed the mystery in connection with the large number of typhoid cases, which occurred in Sawantwadi town normally, with the doctors. He found that they had a fair amount of cases. It was decided to chlorinate the reservoir and all other wells in the town and to adopt a system of drip-cans in the nullas. The Chief Medical Officer was requested to issue a circular advising people to boil water before drinking.[75]

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72. *Diary*, November 27, 1933.
73. *Diary*, June 25, 1934.
74. *Vainateya*, March 8, 1938, Year 14, No.18, p. 3.
75. *Diary*, September 7, 1929.

Khem Sawant V gets Rockefeller anti-malaria aid

While struggling with such difficulties, Khem Sawant V came to know of Dr. Heiser, Chairman of the Rockefeller Foundation of America, who was at that time visiting Lahore.[76] He wrote to Dr. Goheen about Dr. Heiser's whereabouts but could not find it out.[77] So, while in Bombay, he could get the name of Dr. Kendrick who stayed in Madras and represented the Foundation in India for public health questions.[78] The Minister of Revenue and Political Affairs, Sawantwadi, wrote a letter in July 1928 to Dr. Victor G. Heiser, Director for the East of the International Health Board of the Rockefeller Foundation regarding the anti-malaria campaign in the State.[79]

Arrival of Dr. Victor Heiser's men

It was in answer to this appeal that Dr. Kendrick was sent to Sawantwadi on January 22, 1929 to undertake a survey of malaria.[80] Khem Sawant V took Dr. Kendrick to the Malaria Medical Officer and he decided to see his laboratory work.[81]

Dr. Kendrick met the Raja a week later concerning the recommendations that the State wanted to make to the Rockefeller Foundation authorities. Dr. Kendrick recommended that Haldankar, the Malaria Medical Officer, should proceed to Kasauli for two months to study malaria there and at Karnal. He said that he would be provided with a well-equipped, well-lighted, airy, laboratory. He added that a Ford touring car should be provided together with funds to operate it for one year so that the officer does not have to travel on a bicycle and his assistants walk. He proposed a grant of Rs.10, 000 for these purposes.[82] The budget was approved in May 1929.[83]

Dr. Kendrick further recommended that Haldankar should on his return take a detailed survey of two or three villages, preferably Kolgaon and Akeri, during which the on-going campaign should be suspended in

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76. *The Times of India*, March 17, 1926.
77. The Palace / Note book of 1926 of Khem Sawant V kept with the *Diary*.
78. *Diary*, January 29, 1927.
79. *Diary*, January 9, 1928. *RFA* / Letter by G. Baburao, Minister of Revenue and Political Affairs to Dr. Victor G. Heiser, 1.1 Projects 464 India, 19/148-149 VH8/n, July 16, 1928.
80. *Diary*, January 21, 1929.
81. *Diary*, January 23, 1929. *Vainateya*, January 29, 1929, Year 5, No. 12, p. 4.
82. John F. Kendrick, "A Survey of Medical and Health Conditions in Sawantwadi State", p. 19.
83. A letter from F.F.Russell to John F. Kendrick of May 15, 1929.

the remaining villages. After this a survey report could be made on which the Foundation would probably take action and start control measures. If success was met in this matter, the question of extending the campaign in the other villages may be considered.[84]

Malaria Medical Officer sent for training

The Malaria Medical Officer, R. M. Haldankar, attended the practical malaria class at Karnal conducted by the Government of India Malaria Research Institute, Kasauli. He then went to Calcutta to observe the anti-malaria campaign work carried on by different State railways. He also visited Bangalore to observe the anti-malaria campaign work carried on in Mysore State under the control of Dr. Sweet of the Rockefeller Foundation. The medical officers in charge of stations Hariyur, Mudigure and Bangalore showed him how the work of malaria study and control was carried out. On completion of this study tour, Haldankar, according to the suggestion of Dr. Kendrick, carried out an intensive study of malaria in Kolgaon and Akeri, the most malarial villages of the State.[85]

Modern well equipped department started

The new building for the laboratory of malaria department was ready. The microscopes, glass slides etc., were received from America and more were to be purchased in India from the provisions made in the Rockefeller Foundation budget. The malaria department was made permanent from that year.[86] The work was transferred from Dr. Kendrick to Dr. Sweet in March, 1931.[87]

Dr. Sweet's radical measures suggested

Paris green control of anopheline breeding began in Akeri village in 1931 and it was immediately evident that this method would never be economically practicable in Sawantwadi rural areas. The villages of the State consisted of scattered hamlets covering an area, which might be as large as ten square miles. The population of the hamlets was small and houses were so scattered over the terrain that it would be impossible to use Paris green for control without spraying all the breeding places of the

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84. *Diary*, February 6, 1929.
85. *ARSS, 1929-30*, p. 25. (Info source). *Diary*, May 3, 1930.
86. *Ibid.*
87. W.C, Sweet, "A Report on Malaria in Sawantwadi State", p. 6.

entire village area. This would mean so large an expenditure for staff, supervision, and Paris green that the cost of the control work per head of population would considerably exceed the per capita State revenues. It was decided to stop the use of Paris green in rural areas on the basis of cost and to use it only in such town areas as would make its use economically justifiable.[88] Plasmoquine was to be started for use in the villages but its cost was regarded as prohibitive. Some of the Gambusia affinis, which was supplied to Sawantwadi, was destroyed in transit but it was proposed to start a large local hatchery and broadcast the fish over the State. All these means were rejected for want of sufficient finances.[89]

The report of medical relief during 1930-31 shows 52,940 patients being treated out of which 23,234 were of malarial fever. Death rate per thousand in the malarial tract was 24.8 against 31.4 in the last year.[90] The Moti Talao, after remaining dry for eight years, was allowed to be filled that year. The work of removing vegetation and dusting Paris green was continued. Four magic lantern lectures were delivered.[91]

Dr. Covell comes with Dr. Sweet

Dr. W. C. Sweet, who had come the previous year, came again this year, accompanied by Major Dr. G. Covell, officiating director of Malaria Survey of India, Kasauli, and J. J. Mieldazis, sanitary engineer, Mysore State. After inspecting the work, they recommended to Sawantwadi town 1. Destruction of larvae by running a motor boat along the sides of the tank to disturb the water violently twice a week, 2. Emptying the tank in March as it appeared that mosquitoes started breeding there in April when water went low and too many weeds appeared and 3. Flushing the nullah running through Sabniswada thrice a week by opening the sluice gate at its head so as to wash away and destroy any larvae breeding in the nullah. The suggestions were carried out.[92]

Dr. Sweet suggested certain experimental measures like the cutting of forest as a means for drying water sources and as a comparatively cheaper and a more permanent work of control. Major Covell agreed. These deforestation measures were commenced from next year in a

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88. *Ibid.*
89. W.C. Sweet, "A Report on Malaria in Sawantwadi State", pp. 12-13.
90. *ARSS, 1930-31*, p. 25.
91. *Ibid.*, p. 27.
92. *ARSS*, 1931-32, p. 29.

selected village by way of experiment.[93] Khem Sawant V suggested experiment of extensive quininisation in a village. Dr. Sweet recommended the use of plasmoquin instead of quinine. Plasmoquin tablets were ordered through him out of the grant allotted by the Rockefeller Foundation and the village Kesri was selected.[94]

Dr. Heiser comes to Sawantwadi

In March 1933, the Rockefeller Foundation authorities headed by Dr. Heiser himself came down to Sawantwadi. The Raja accompanied them for a while as far as Kolgaon and then left them and returned to Amboli. Dr. Heiser seemed to be going through the records and taking interest in them. They went on to Akeri and to see the deforestation work at Naneli.[95]

Dr. Heiser, Director of the Rockefeller Foundation was in the company of Dr. Sweet and Dr. Grant. He saw all the statements, charts and maps in connection with the malaria study work carried out at Kolgaon and Akeri during the period of two and a half years. The party went to Kolgaon to see the placement for terracing and then on to Akeri and Mangaon to see the Mangaon-Naneli hill taken up for deforestation. They also saw the work of dusting Paris green in the Moti Talao in Sawantwadi town. Dr. Rao, epidemiologist of the health department of the Mysore State, was also deputed by them to find out malaria carrier species in Sawantwadi State.[96]

Fatal accident transfers medical policies to Regent Ranisaheb

At about the middle of 1937, the control of medical policies had moved into the hands of the Regent, Ranisaheb Parvatibai Bhonsle. Khem Sawant V, who had invigorated the new administration of the policies in regard to health care, had suddenly departed. But the Regent, who had knowledge of the measures he had adopted in this field, and with whom he had frequently discussed his disappointment that medical relief was not reaching the villagers properly, had decided to adopt his reforms when she accepted the responsibility of the reign. The unsigned report on Rural Medical Relief in the State of November 24, 1937 mentions that the

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93. *Ibid.*
94. *Ibid.*
95. *Diary*, March 11, 1933.
96. *ARSS*, 1932-33, p. 29.

villagers were still ignorant about the epidemic diseases. They had no idea of how they could be prevented. No steps were being taken to prevent them from unhealthy living. There was hardly any attempt to teach them to observe proper sanitary conditions in their personal life and about their house. The village dispensaries gave them only medicines and failed to educate them in problems of health. The poor and sick in the villages were mostly inaccessible and how to provide proper medical aid to them was a problem.[97]

The medical treatment given by one hospital and six dispensaries to a population of 2,30,589 as given by the Sawantwadi State Report of 1935-36 was not very encouraging. The indoor patients treated in all of them were 535 and the outdoor patients 55,929. This came to about one-fourth the population. The number of indoor and outdoor patients treated that year in the Westropp Civil Hospital was 18,655. And there were Rs. 15,061 expended on them. The total amount spent by the State on medical expenses came to Rs. 26,422 and it benefited roughly about one-fourth of the population.[98]

Dr. Shiveshwarkar, the Assistant Director of Public Health whom the Regent had come to know in Belgaum, had advised a rough grouping of the villages. A doctor was to be allotted to each of them. His job would be to lecture to them with magic lanterns on health problems, run itinerant dispensaries, train some enthusiastic teachers and hand them over the medicine boxes for treating the patients. After educating them about epidemic disease, pregnancy and childcare, they should be asked to give the lectures. A scheme of organizing the expenses was also given.[99]

It was announced in 1938 that an ophthalmologist and a dentist had agreed to give free medical attention in the hospital. Dr. Fulton, an American at the Vengurla hospital, had been appointed as Honorary Surgeon without any remuneration. It was agreed to by the Regent to start an operation theatre out of her own pocket. The operations should be made when the operation theatre had been completed.[100]

A Clinical Laboratory for helping doctors in identifying diseases had been started. Anti-rabic treatment was also begun. One Dr. Kelkar had

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97. *SSR/R 58/ADM-28/H.H./864*, Copy of note typed on Rural Medical Relief in the State; object in starting the scheme - unsigned.

98. *Ibid.*

99. *Ibid.*

100 *SSR/R 9/Gazette 1938-39*, September 1, 1938, Vol. 51, No. 3, Part I, pp. 10-12.

started a class for teachers and some gentlemen for a fortnight. They would be given medicines on a fixed number of medical complaints of villagers in the Rural Medical Relief Centres, which they planned to start [101]

A Veterinary Dispensary had been started from 1938. A veterinary doctor, Dr. Desai, had been sent by the State for training. He had completed his training and would be in charge of the dispensary.[102]

Malaria started vigorously in the year 1938. The Regent started medical centres in various places in Sawantwadi. The expenses of giving injections were borne by the Regent from her personal income. There were 2818 persons who were given free medicines and 1300 that were given free injections. There were 3000 people in the town who were suffering from malaria. In all 7000 people were injected. Magic lantern and ordinary speeches and picture about health education were held. Dr. Mhaskar and Dr. Patil from Mumbai and from Vengurla, Dr. and Mrs. Goheen gave lectures. The Khem Sawant Operation Theatre was started and the Westropp Civil Hospital was equipped with modern implements. Rural Medical Centres were opened in five villages. [103]

Major Covell, director of the Government of India Anti-Malaria Institute came over to Sawantwadi to look at the anti-malaria campaign carried out in the State. He had been visiting the State a number of times and suggesting measures to eradicate malaria. The anti-malaria work carried on by the State malaria department and the town municipality was according to the main advice of his.[104]

Malaria was on the increase in Sawantwadi by the end of 1941. As the malaria fever was increasing especially in Junabazar and Mathewada, it was decided by the municipality to spray pyrocide in the houses there. A lot of people were given quinine injection by the State in the Atmeshwar temple in Mathewada and the municipality distributed free quinine to the people. The Sawantwadi municipality offered to give the more expensive medicines at half the cost to the citizens.[105]

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101. *Ibid.*
102. *Ibid.*
103. *SSR/R 55/Gazette 1939-40*, September 1, 1939, Vol. 52, No. 3, Part I, p. 8.
104. *Vainateya*, May 13, 1941, Vol. 17, No. 23, p. 7.
105. *Ibid.*, December 9, 1941, Vol. 18, No. 2, p. 7.

It was announced by the Government of Sawantwadi that Dr. Evans, an American of the Vengurla Mission St. Luke's Hospital, was appointed as Advisor to the Westropp Civil Hospital. St. Luke's Hospital was famous for medical treatment and skillful operations as well as for treatment for patients of tuberculosis and leprosy in their asylums in Vengurla. The hospital was renowned in Mumbai and southern parts of Bombay Province because of the four decades of the surgical service, which was rendered by Dr. Goheen who had now gone to Miraj in place of Dr. Wanless.[106]

In 1941, the cost of medicines had gone up to a large extent. So the Government had decided that, with the exception of very poor people, a charge of half an anna would be collected from the patients for two days medicines in the Government dispensaries. Malaria had been raging somewhat higher in the month of August 1942. The Malaria Department was taking prompt action to stop the spread of the disease. In 1941, the Malaria Medical Officer had given 2800 injections free of charge.[107]

It was announced by the Malaria Medical Officer that in July 1942 there was a terrible increase in malaria. The rate of quinine had gone up to Rs. 135 a pound. It was available till a few days earlier at Rs. 18 to 25. Pyrocide, the spray of which could become a detriment to malaria, and which Dr. Covell had recommended when he visited Sawantwadi earlier, also could not be obtained and so could not Paris green and malarial.[108]

The malaria control had an independent department. So it was an important question whether the Municipality should shoulder any permanent responsibility for it. When the Malaria Department was carrying out its proper activity in an efficient manner, it was considered proper that the Municipality should help for the exceptional work with special expenditure. The Municipality had been spending for eradication of malaria for several years.[109]

The Darbar had already opened centres for giving medical treatment by a rural person to the small villages at Akeri, Ghavnalem, and Gothos. Konal, Kunkeri and Shivapur. Since the experiment was useful to the villagers, it was decided to add to these centres in 1944-45. It was

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106. *Vainateya*, December 22, 1942, Year 19, No. 4, p. 3.
107. *Vainateya*, September 1, 1942, Year 18, No. 40, p. 3.
108. *SSR/R 10/Gazette 1942-43*, August 1, 1942, Vol. 55, No. 1, Part 4, p. 1.
109. *Vainateya*, June 8, 1943, Year 19, No. 28, p. 2.

decided that if at least twenty-five important persons would apply to Chief Medical Officer, a medical training would be given for Annas 12 per day to a person suggested by them. He would know which supplied medicines should be given to which disease. There were twenty-six ailments including typhoid fever, influenza, pneumonia, malaria, meningitis, tuberculosis, and dog bite, a bite by a serpent, cholera and others. If a capable individual was found, it was proposed to open twenty-five centres in five years at the rate of five a year. The villagers should arrange for a room, furniture and toilet. The practitioner would get Rupees five per month.[110]

Yet the situation in Sawantwadi regarding malaria was not improving. In 1947, there was a report in Vainateya that between 15 and 20 per cent of the total number of deaths were of malarial fever. There were about eighteen thousand people every year in Sawantwadi State who were ill by malaria.[111]

Malaria has deleterious effect on farming

Malaria had a very deleterious effect on farming. The farmers could not carry out their agricultural operations in time because of the malarial fever in the season. There were thousands of acres in the State, which were lying uncultivated because of want of people to work. That there was a bad effect on education because of malaria could not be denied.[112]

The Vainateya published in 1947 a statement showing the population of twelve villages in the seven censuses, which were held between 1881 to 1941. The total population of a specified village during 1881 was 6,875, which had declined steadily to 2,540, which means the decline was to the extent of 4,335. Besides, there were 9,219 acres of warkas land, which was lying fallow. During the Grow More Food campaign in the three or four years some of the land was being cultivated but due to illness the people were leaving the farming of the lands.[113]

Ultimately DDT eradicated malaria

The Second World War had come to an end in 1945. It was known by this time that scientists had been successful in combating malaria in the jungles of Southeast Asia. The allied soldiers had been kept comparatively

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110. *SSR/R 10/Gazette 1944-45*, May 1, 1945, Vol. 57, No. 19, Part I, pp.169-170.
111. *SSR/R 10/Gazette 1947-48*, July 22, 1947, Vol. 23, No. 34, p. 7.
112. *Ibid*
113. *Ibid.*, p. 6.

safe from this debilitating fever by the use of DDT to kill mosquitoes. The DDT was not made available to the people during the War but with the peace dawning over the world the stocks of the insecticide were released in India for use in fighting the deadly disease of malaria. To the State of Sawantwadi this came as a Godly blessing. An important inauguration ceremony was held inviting many doctors from outside and all of Sawantwadi to mark the era of happiness, which was dawning. This was in 1946 when the DDT was used and malaria was being defeated from the land, which the people remembered had kept them for about a hundred years in struggling against the disease. The Sawantwadi Municipality had promised to contribute half the expenditure for the purpose.[114] When it was found by the Municipality that the spraying work was being delayed in the six months that had passed, they promised to contribute equally to the expenditure of Rs.1, 00,000 to be spent over five years provided that a Committee was appointed for the purpose.[115]

Rani Janakibai Maternity Home successful

Rani Janakibai Maternity Home did make considerable success. In 1939-40, it had treated 451 patients. Its collections were Rs. 91,394 and expenses Rs. 19,720 with a balance held of Rs. 71,674. In the preceding two years it had completed a new ward, nurses' quarters and a well and completed the sanitary fittings.[116]

In 1941-42, 558 women made use of the maternity home. It was possible to keep down the cost because of the honorary work that was done by the medical and administrative personnel so that poor people could afford it. The salaries of nurses, the women servants, the cooks and peons were the only ones that were paid.[117]

Hospital equipped with better Doctors

Khem Sawant V had thought of finding a post in the State of Baroda for the Chief Medical Officer on whom he wanted to serve a notice of retrenchment.[118]The plan did not materialize. But the next person to be appointed to the post was Dr. N.R. Suvarna, M.S. He became the Chief

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114. *Vainateya*, December 3, 1946, Vol. 23, No. 1, p. 1.
115. *Vainateya*, July 15, 1947, Vol. 23, No. 33, p. 4.
116. *Vainateya*, March 25, 1941, Vol. 17, No. 17, p. 9.
117. *Vainateya*, January 19, 1943, Vol. 19, No. 8, p. 5.
118. *Diary*, November 22, 1928.

Medical Officer, Sawantwadi, and the Superintendent of Jail, Vaccination and Leper and Lunatic Asylums on a salary of Rs. 225 per mensem.[119]

Dr. Suvarna became famous for his surgical skill, respect for others and gentlemanliness. His surgical skill became famous in the taluka of Vengurla and in the Portuguese possession of Goa.[120] His operation on a fifty year old woman to remove a thirty pound tumour successfully was attended by Rani Parvatidevi and Shivram Raje.[121]

The Sawantwadi State General Hospital had changed its identity ever since the surgical expert Dr. Suvarna was appointed to it. The wards of men and women were so full of patiets that it was not possible for the hospital to provide cots for them. It was not possible to imagine the lot of the nurses and the provision of amenities for them.[122] He performed more than seven hundred operations, about two hundred of them major. The hospital became famous by his surgical skill. But he resigned voluntarily from October 15, 1943 because he was displeased with the administration.[123]

State General Hospital and Anti-Malaria Department

When the Sawantwadi State Representative Assembly Amendment Act was amended to give the Standing Committee the powers to administer the dispensaries among many other departments, it was decided to exempt the State General Hospital and the Anti-Malaria Department of the entire State from it. The State Government, which was reserved for the Raja, would not give over to the popular control the two departments, which it had served with pride for all the years under its control.[124]

The State has enacted a law that in view of the DDT movement Rs. 30,000 would be spent on the prevention of malaria in the town of Sawantwadi every year. The spraying would be over by the end of December. It was announced that pludrin was bought in sufficient quantities.[125]

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119. *SSR/R 10/Gazette 1942-43*, August 15, 1942, Vol. 55, No. 2, Part II, p. 10. Regent's order No. 96 of August 8, 1942.
120. *Vainateya*, July 6, 1943, Vol. 19, No. 32, p. 2.
121. *Ibid.*, January 26, 1943, Vol. 19, No. 9, p. 3.
122. *Vainateya*, July 6, 1943, Year 19, No. 32, p. 2.
123. *Ibid.*, September 14, 1943, Vol. 19, No. 41, p. 2.
124. *Vainateya*, July 22, 1947, Year 23, No. 34, p. 4.
125. *SSR/R 10/Gazette 1947-48*, October 15, 1947, Vol. 60, No. 6, Part 4, p. 3.

Shivramraje Bhonsle had sanctioned Rs. 1,50,000 for establishing gram panchayats, supplying medicines, taking anti-malaria measures and bringing about agricultural improvements.[126]Thus, by the time of the accession of Sawantwadi to the Indian State, the medical conditions in the Westropp Civil Hospital and the number of dispensaries, which had been opened, and the number of medical doctors who were practising made available to people a much better service than was available to them in the period twenty years earlier. Malaria was being controlled but epidemics like plague, smallpox were being controlled although the eradication of them was to await a few decades more. So were public health and sanitation in a backward stage as compared with the vast amount of money that was required for the purpose.

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126 *SSR/R 10/Gazette 1947-48*, October 15, 1947, Vol. 60, No. 6, Part 4, p. 8.

Chapter 11

EDUCATIONAL GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE PEOPLE.

System of education in Nineteenth Century

EDUCATION IN SAWANTWADI STATE in the beginning of the nineteenth century was confined to one per cent of the society. Administration, judiciary, religion, learning, trade and commerce were satisfied with the state of acquired education. There were knowledgeable statesmen and administrators who carried on the affairs of the State. A sufficient but small assemblage of karkun adequately supported them. There was a body of learned judges who could dispense with the civil and criminal cases. There were enough of educated men who created records of the property when it changed hands. The religious works were studied with great reverence and exactitude. Knowledge and learning, which were put forth in prose and poetry composed by sages and saints, were communicated with *kirtans* or a variety of other means to the people at large. The trade and commerce also had a sufficient number of *karkun* who corresponded with people far and wide and kept neat accounts of wide transactions.

The Brahmans, including the Saraswats, Kudaldeshastha Prabhus, Konkanasthas and Karades, were more or less devoted to learning. The boys started learning as they entered the *Brahmacharyashram* after their *Upanayana* ceremony. They were put to learn under a learned man who could be their father, uncle or their elder brother. They were taught Sanskrit with its grammar and vocabulary and were made to learn by memory, according to their ability, the Vedas, Shastras and Puranas. A brilliant man, called *ek-pathi*, would appear among them once in a while and remember verbatim a thing once seen or heard by him. The Konkanastha and Karade Brahmans were professional performers of religious ceremonies and produced some persons who could remember a vast number of verses and reproduce them on the tip of the tongue. This community was on the whole the possessor of the body of manuscripts of the works in Sanskrit.

Flowering of Bal Gangadhar Shastri

One important Brahman named Gopal Bhat was the ancestor of Bal Gangadhar and lived in Sawantwadi State of the early nineteenth century. Gopal Bhat had sought the patronage of the Sardesai of Sawantwadi and secured from him a modest *watan* or hereditary property with the title of Raj Purohit.[1] Bal Gangadhar, who was later known as Acharya Bal Gangadhar Shastri Jambhekar, was a Karhade Brahman[2] and was most probably born in 1812.[3] The boy was known as *Ek-pathi* as he retained in his memory what he heard or read once. His teachers also lovingly called him Bal-Brihaspati for his intellectual brilliance in all kinds of studies. There was no public elementary school in his village at that time.[4] It should strike the modern reader as somewhat strange that the parents thought of sending the boy to Mumbai by bullock-cart, horse, palanquin, *padav* or ordinary sailing vessel. But that was the general means of locomotion in those days. He came to Mumbai at the end of 1825 and joined the Bombay Native Education Society's school to study Sanskrit, English, Marathi, Gujrati, Bengali and Persian.[5] He became tutor to the young Raja of Akalkot and established the first Anglo-Vernacular weekly in Western India called the *Bombay Durpan*. He was already appointed as Senior Assistant Professor at the Elphinstone College when the first two professors arrived from England in 1835, and had started his lecturing work in the rooms of the Town Hall in October 1834.[6] When the Board of Education was created, he happened to be the first Indian to act as Superintendent or Educational Inspector of later years.[7] He died prematurely in 1846 at the age of thirty-three years. Acharya Bal Shastri gives an example of how a talented man in the early period of his life could participate in the British educational process, which was available to an Indian.[8]

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1. G.G. Jambhekar, ed., Memoirs and Writings of Acharya Bal Gangadhar Shastri Jambhekar (1812-1846), p. 34.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 33.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 35.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 36.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 42.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 51-53.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 55.
8. Please see Chapter 7 for a discussion of the social function of Bal Gangadhar Jambhekar.

New educational system required

Teachers belonging to different castes gave education. There was no system of education supported by the State or society. There were no buildings, which were meant for housing teaching and learning. Individuals started private classes where they taught the three R's to students for remuneration in money and kind. In Sawantwadi State, the Brahmans had the practice of learning from teachers belonging to their community. The Vanis or Vaishyas would learn the three R's from teachers and keep their accounts neatly. Only a few of the Mahrattas learnt for administrative purposes. The Mohammedans learnt to read the Holy Quran, Persian and Marathi for religious, administrative and commercial use.

The Treaty of 1819 and the acquisition of territory by the Portuguese had reduced the Sawantwadi State to a half of its former size. But the cultural unity of the old jurisdiction had remained in tact in spite of the western acquisitions. For about three centuries the important people of Sawantwadi Sansthan were acquainted with the strength of the *Feringhis* over the seas, their religious fanaticism in their conquered territory and their demand and supply of important commodities. There came the Portuguese, the Dutch, the English and the French to trade in commodities, which were transported by Indian traders to Pedne. The Dutch built their factory at Vengurla, the British at Rajapur and the Portuguese had their territory of Tiswadi, Bardez and Salcette. All of them had their palatial houses in Pedne and had contacts with merchants, traders, transporters, contractors and administrators. The sailors belonging to the navy of the State had contacts and conflicts with the foreign ships and, in the later years beginning with about 1750, the administrators were engaged in a commercial conflict with the British. This had developed into wars between the State of Sawantwadi and the British. The British had ultimately succeeded and gained command on the affairs of the State. This nad drawn the dejected people in the struggle for independence, which had lasted for resolution up to about the middle of the nineteenth century. An army of the British of about 12,000 to 16,000 men operated in the State and defeated their army and made the people to accept the regime of the Company. The army was mainly made up of Indians whose officers were British. They were indeed well acquainted with the people of Sawantwadi who lived in the villages.

The administration of the State was taken over by the British Government in 1838 and the reform of education must have been postponed for a decade or two. But Mountstuart Elphinstone, while submitting his report on the territories conquered from the Peshwa in 1819, said, "I do not perceive that we can do to improve the morals of the people, except by improving their education."[9] This opinion of a man who was appointed the Governor of Bombay in 1819 and became a founder of Government education in the Bombay Presidency are worthy of being marked. The Charter Act of 1813 had already directed that "a sum of not less than one lakh of rupees" should be applied to "the revival and improvement of literature and the encouragement of the learned natives of India and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories in India."[10] This was for Bengal, which took a slightly different turn in the policy towards education. In Bombay, Elphinstone, however, presided over the meeting of the Bombay Education Society in 1820 at which the Native Education Society originated. The primary object of that institution was the conveyance of knowledge through vernacular instruction. He felt that no progress could be made in that direction without great assistance from Government. He said that the mode of teaching at the vernacular schools should be improved and their numbers had to be increased. He wanted to start schools for teaching the European sciences and improvements in the higher branches of education. He wanted the publication of books in the Indian languages of moral and physical science. And he wanted schools to be started to teach English as means of acquiring knowledge of the European discoveries.[11]

Elphinstone thus gave importance to indigenous education and the desirability of conducting higher education through the medium of the local languages. Whereas the home authorities were asking for higher instruction to be imparted to Indians through English so that they could occupy the higher positions in the civil administration.[12] The costs of administration were becoming too high and there was a constant pressure of the Directors on the Indian Governments to drastically reduce them. They wanted Indians to be educated in English so as to provide personnel

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9. John Wilson, "A Short Memorial of the Honorable Mountstuart Elphinstone etc.", *The Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, No. XXI, Vol. VI, January 1862, p. 101.
10. Phillips, C.H., The East India Company, 1784-1834, p. 246.
11. John Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 107.
12. Philips, *op. cit.*, p. 249.

for Government service.[13] In most respects the Directors' orders anticipated Macaulay's statements and proposals of 1835. The Directors indeed laid greater emphasis on cultivating the vernaculars than Macaulay did. But "they failed completely to realize how much the Indian social system, with its watertight compartments, would hinder the general diffusion of Western knowledge outside the limited extent of the literate castes."[14]

Statistics collected of South Konkan by T.B. Jervis

There is no statistics of teachers who privately ran their tuition classes all over the State of Sawantwadi and of students who benefited from them. The State had no administrative control over them and their products were engaged by the employers according to their merits. They had their moral standards, which suited the employers according to the values prevailing at the time in the society. But the British Government in Mumbai had at its disposal the statistics of schools and scholars, which had been reported by their officers.

In the absence of any statistics of education concerning the State, it is useful to consider the statistics of schools and scholars collected by the British in South Konkan in 1820. The Talukas of Vengurla and Malwan, which bordered the Sawantwadi State in the west and the north, were taken over by the British only a few years earlier. The statistics, which were collected under T.B. Jervis, pointed out the defects of the indigenous system of education, and might be fairly accurate.[15]

In about 2,240 villages and a population of about 6,00,000 of souls, there were in 1820, 86 schools with 1,500 scholars.[16] Only 28 of these schools were held in temples and the rest in private dwellings or sheds. Six schools were held in the houses of teachers who taught and, in some cases, a respectable gentleman in the town or village gave a portion of his house for holding a school. A few schools were housed in sheds that belonged to barbers, oilmen or potters. They were purely private ventures, springing up and vanishing according to local demand. They were not the concern of community as a whole. The teacher was paid remuneration in

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13. *Ibid.*, p. 247. cf. *Cambridge History of India*, vol. VI, p. 109.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 249.
15. R.V. Parulekar, ed., Survey of Indigenous Education in the Province of Bombay (1820 - 1830), p. xvii.
16. *Ibid.*, p. xviii.

cash or kind only from the parent. The strength of the classes as revealed in Konkan was 20 and the lowest in a South Konkan school was two.[17]

The information of castes of teachers and of scholars for each school was given in the reports of South Konkan. There were a few schools where the scholars and the teachers belonged to the same caste. There were also few schools, the only ones in the villages concerned, which were conducted for the scholars of one caste only, although the teachers did not belong to the same caste. The schools were open to those who could afford to pay except those that belonged to the low castes. Muslim children who were taught Persian and Urdu were open to Hindus. Out of the 86 teachers, 64 were Brahmans and the rest belonged to Prabhus, Mahrattas, Bhandaries, Kunbis or cultivators, Wanis, Shimpis etc.[18]

The average remuneration in South Konkan came to Rupees Four every month to be paid in cash. Besides, he got from students about a seer of rice every month and two pice on every great Hindu holiday. The fixed fee every boy had to pay every month was one anna on an average, although it was one-half to three-fourths of an anna in some schools.[19]

The teachers were expected to teach reading, writing and arithmetic to their students. The teachers also made their students learn the multiplication tables of great complexity. They were able to teach the students a tolerably good handwriting and an ability to read. The schools for higher learning instructed only the Brahman boys. Those of the other castes, who wished to study further, did so either by self-study or by serving their fathers as apprentices or in houses of business.[20]

Writing about the attendance at school in South Konkan district, T.B. Jervis said, "Their hours of attendance at school or any places of instruction are irregular; their holidays exceedingly numerous, and the occasions for absence and neglect of study extremely disproportionate to those in European schools ... a too great fondness and indulgence of their children are failings common to both people."[21]

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17. *Ibid.*, pp. xxi-xxii.
18. *Ibid.*, pp. xxii-xxiii.
19. *Ibid.*, p. xxiv.
20. *Ibid.*, p. xxvii.
21. *Ibid.*, p. xxix.

It is interesting to read Jervis' account of the course of instruction followed in Marathi schools in South Konkan in 1820. "A month," he says, "or even two are usually devoted to the ceremony of tracing the letters *ShriGaneshayanamaha;* after this comes the letters of the alphabets and *barakuree* or twelve combinations of consonants with vowels, and the figures which are learnt as far as 100 ... They then proceed to Multiplication Tables called *Lekhe* as far as 10 times 20; after which they write down and commit to memory various tables ... which are multiplication tables of fractional parts by integers; and lastly tables of money, weights and measures. These rudiments having been thoroughly acquired, the children are said to have got through the *Doolakshur* or dust writing and they proceed to writing on paper, to reading and arithmetic. Men who had mastered them in their school days showed remarkable in calculating orally any sum or problem that confronted them ... one of the aims of schooling in those days was to acquire the ability to make orally, and in a correct and quick manner, all calculations small or big. The schools met this aim by teaching the Multiplication Tables. For want of books or tables of references, the scholar had to keep much in his head."[22]

About books in Marathi, T.B. Jervis wrote, there was a variety, which was either commentaries or translations of the Puranas, Tales, Dramas and scientific works, or interesting histories originally written in Marathi. The mode or manner in which instruction was imparted, the steps by which scholars advanced in the skills of reading, writing and counting - these and allied topics, said Parulekar, were very clearly stated by T B. Jervis in his report on the South Konkan district.[23]

A report published in 1829 said that out of 6,721 scholars who went to schools in South Konkan, which had a population of 6,60,000, 2,034 were Brahmans, 1,729 were peasants and 1,127 were Muslims. The scholars were about one per cent of the population. The Brahmans were by far the highest in number although their community was about 10 per cent of the population. The advantage was due to the dragging force of caste complexes from which the Hindu community greatly suffered, according to Parulekar. The Muslims had sea-faring and trading traditions from the past, which was reflected in their superior enrollment in the

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22 *Ibid.*, pp. xxxii-xxxiii.

23. *Ibid.*, p. xxxv.

schools. Not a single student from the Scheduled Castes was found to be in the class at that time.[24]

Progress of school instruction in the State

In 1838 there was one school maintained at the Palace where students from the Ruling Family, the principal Sardars, Darakdars and Mehmans were taught. They learnt reading and writing of Marathi, both Balbodh and Modi, and arithmetic. About 30 students were under instruction here. A new school was opened in Sawantwadi in 1839 under a teacher brought from the Deccan to teach Marathi.[25] His name was Narsopant Jog.[26] More specific information about the progress of education in the State is available for the second half of the nineteenth century. According to the census returns of 1851, there were 73,481 of population of not more than twenty years of age. To cater to them, there was only one Marathi school in Sawantwadi with 200 names on the rolls or 0.27 per cent of them. The school was maintained by the State at a yearly cost of Rs. 370. In 1854, There were two schools, one at Wadi paid for by the State, and the other at Banda, paid partly by the State and partly by the inhabitants, with 228 students on the rolls. In 1856, a school was started for the Sawantwadi Local Corps and it was decided to teach algebra, geometry and history. There were four schools with 352 students on the rolls.[27] As there was a demand for English education in 1858, an English school was opened in Sawantwadi town[28] in 1860 with 23 students on its rolls.[29]

In towns of the Bombay Presidency like Mumbai, Pune, Belgaum, Dharwad, Ahmedabad and a few others, there was started education according to the policy laid down by Lord Macaulay. Elphinstone College was started in Mumbai in the first half of 1840s. Wilson College, St. Xavier's College and Grant Medical College were started in the city in the subsequent years. And the University of Bombay was established in 1857. It started examining students who had learnt English together with the

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24. *Ibid.*, pp. xlviii, liii-liv, lvi.
25. Sawantwadi State Record/R 48/F.H.1/826/History of Sawantwadi State, (later SSR/History of Sawantwadi), No. 2844 of April 20, 1929.
26. *Sawantwadi Shikshan Samitee Ahawal*, (later *SSS Ahawal*), submitted by Ramchandra V. Parulekar and others appointed by Khemraj V, 1931, p. 6.
27. Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Vol. X, Ratnagiri and Sawantwadi, (later Bombay Gazetteer, Sawantwadi), p. 458.
28. SSR/History of Sawantwadi.
29. Bombay Gazetteer, Sawantwadi, p. 458.

curriculum at schools consisting of mathematics, science, history, geography and one of the classical languages including Sanskrit. The schools, with a number of exceptions, did also teach the mother tongues of the students. They sent a number of selected students for taking the Matriculation examination of the University. A few of them passed the examination and were eligible for jobs in the offices of government, port trust, railways, municipalities and private firms. A few of them went to colleges and were appointed to higher posts upon their graduation. Some of the graduates who had shown themselves as exceptionally bright got the scholarships to prosecute higher studies in England. A few of them were appointed as Indian Civil Service officers or became barristers, professors and scientists. The common run of people mostly belonging to the upper castes of the Tal Konkan region had job-prospects available to them mainly in Mumbai and Karachi. And the upper castes were naturally interested in getting the facilities of high school education in Sawantwadi. An English school was thus started in Sawantwadi town some three years after the Bombay University had started. Three scholarships of Rs. 6 per month were offered to clever and deserving students and were paid up to 1932[30] and were perhaps paid up to 1948.

There were five Marathi schools with 636 students in 1860. Together the students of the English and Marathi schools were less than one per cent of the population of less than twenty years of age. In 1870, the number of schools was raised from six to twenty-three, with a roll call of 1367 students or 1.4 per cent of the total population of not more than twenty years of age. Forty schools had been started by 1878-79 with a roll call of 1869 names. From 1850 to 1878, the number of schools increased from one to forty and the number of students under instruction from 200 to 1869.[31] In 1867 a girls school was opened in Sawantwadi town with 18 girls who were admitted free and were supplied free books and slates.[32] The girl students increased from twenty-nine in 1870 to seventy-seven in 1878, and the average daily attendance from 40.6 to 55.06. The school was under the management of a mistress.[33]

But there were a large number of private schools in the three Pethas of the State. There were forty-seven private schools in 1854,

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30. *SSS Ahawal*, p. 6.
31. Bombay Gazetteer, Sawantwadi, pp. 458-459.
32. SSR/History of Sawantwadi.
33. Bombay Gazetteer, Sawantwadi, p. 459.

sixteen in Wadi, eleven in Banda and twenty in Kudal. They had in all 589 students on their roll.[34]

The forty state schools, which existed in 1878-79, gave an average of one school for every six inhabited villages. There were, as we have seen, 1869 students on their roles and an average attendance of 1341.5 or 1.35 per cent of 99,082, which was the entire population of not more than twenty years of age. The total expenditure on education in 1878 was Rs.15, 250 out of which the State spent Rs. 8,890, local funds contributed Rs. 4,140 and the balance was made up by public subscriptions and from fees and fines. There was a state inspector, who was appointed on a salary of Rs. 25 per month, to supervise the schools. And the schools were conducted by a local staff of masters and assistant masters with salaries that ranged from Rs. 5 to Rs. 25 per month. Of these forty schools, there was one English-Marathi school where subjects were taught to satisfy the passing standards of the Bombay University entrance examination. The expenses of this school were met by the State entirely. Of the remaining 39 schools, there were 36 Marathi schools and three Urdu schools. Three of the Marathi schools were maintained by the State entirely and two received State aid. There was a school for girls that was in addition to these forty.[35]

The 1872 census returns gave the following figures and proportions of the persons who were able to read and write. There were in all 33,436 male population of not more than twelve years of age among the Hindus; and of these 1,191 or 3.56 were able to read and write. Of 14,659 persons who were above twelve years and not over twenty, 1,115 or 7.61 per cent were able to read and write. And from 41,202 persons who were over twenty years of age, 3,284 or 7.97 per cent were able to read and write or were being taught. Out of 32,013 of the Hindu girls who were under the age of twelve years, only 47 or 0.15 per cent were literate whereas only twelve or 0.08 per cent out of 14,344 between twelve and twenty could read or write. And out of 46,785 Hindu women over twenty years, 35 or 0.08 per cent were literate or being taught. Out of the total male population of Muslims of not more than twelve years numbering 858, 61 or 7.11 per cent; of 307 above twelve years and not over twenty, 32 or 10.72 per cent; and of 888 over twenty years, 77 or 8.67 per cent were able to read and

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34 *Ibid*, p. 459.

35. *Ibid.*, p. 458.

write or being taught. Of 818, the total Muslim girls who were not over twelve years, 25 or 3.06 per cent were able to read and write or were being taught.[36]

One of the important happenings in the capital of Sawantwadi was the establishment of the Native General Library in 1852. Its spacious building was erected partly by State expense and partly by subscription. It contained 1097 volumes in 1877 and had fifty-six subscribers. The total amount realized in 1878 was Rs. 1,180 besides Rs. 2,500 invested in securities. In 1874 a reading room supported chiefly by State officials was opened at Kudal with yearly subscription of Rs. 100. Sawantwadi had no newspaper and had only one press for lithographing official papers.[37]

Colonel Westropp, Panandikar and Sawantwadi High School

Colonel Westropp had been appointed the Political Superintendent of Sawantwadi in 1876. An officer, who made a number of changes in Sawantwadi like the building of a stone wall with hydraulic cement around Moti Talao and a number of buildings around it, started making inquiry for a teacher in Mumbai. He would not trust the Report of the Government Deputy Education Inspector and so asked the Inspector to send a report to him. The Report being good, Gopalrao Vyankatesh Panandikar from Mumbai was appointed in 1877 as Head Master of the English school in Sawantwadi.[38]

There was only one assistant master in the school and the Head Master had to manage all the work. The Political Superintendent was reluctant to start a High School in spite of Panandikar's request. Not daunted by this rejection of his request, Panandikar decided to instruct students for the sixth class. There used to be only seven classes, in addition to the four in the primary school, which a student had to attend for being eligible to the Matriculation examination of the Bombay University started in 1857. Panandikar started taking the sixth class at home from 6.30 to 9.30 a.m. He taught the class English, History and Science and the Assistant Master began to teach Mathematics in the School during the interval. When the preparations were ready, the Deputy Political Superintendent was asked to have the class examined and call for a

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36. *Ibid.*, p. 459.
37. *Ibid.*
38. Gopal Vyankatesh Panandikar's letter of May 27, 1929 in *Vainateya*, Vol. 5, No. 31, June 4, 1929, p. 5.

report. Panandikar's earlier request and the excellent report which was received by the Government, made it possible for him to make a request. The Government used to spend Rs.30 for every student who was sent for education of the higher classes to Ratnagiri. Panandikar suggested that the total amount should be handed over to him and he should be allowed Rs.5 out of the amount that would be charged by the Council to the seventh class student. With that amount he should employ two Assistant Masters and run the High School. The Government agreed to this request and the High School was started.[39]

Colonel Westropp was transferred in 1888. In 1877-78, the first year of his administration, there were in all 37 schools in the State with 1888 students on the rolls. The expenditure of schools was Rs. 11,494 and the State grant was Rs. 10,956 when the annual income of the State was Rs. 3,04,284. The amount spent was 3.6 per cent of the income. In 1887-88, the number of schools had increased to 82 including one High School sending students to Matriculation in Mumbai and one technical school. The students enrolled were 3,796 and the State expenditure on the schools was Rs. 25,709. The State grant to the schools was Rs. 10,000 when the annual budgetary income was Rs. 3,97,537, which was 2.5 per cent.[40] The progress made during Colonel Westropp's administration was indeed eye-catching. He had more than doubled the State expenditure on school education and increased more than twice the number of schools and the number of students on their rolls. Besides a small number of students passed the Matriculation examination after going to Mumbai to write their papers in a pandal at Gawali Talao.

In his sketch of his career as Head Master in Sawantwadi, Panandikar remembered a large number of his students who passed the Matriculation examination and some of them who became graduates of the Bombay University in various subjects and came to hold a number of responsible posts.[41]

The Sawantwadi High School began in 1880 and the Head Master, G.V. Panandikar, began sending students for the Matriculation examination of the Bombay University. Two students passed the examination that year.[42] It was found that the old building of the school had

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39. G.V. Panandikar, Maze Sawantwadiche Tera Varshanchem Vastavya,, p. 8.
40. *SSS Ahawal*, Parishistha 2, pp. 73-76.
41. G.V. Panandikar, *op.cit.*, pp. 26-28.
42. SSR/History of Sawantwadi.

to be demolished and a new one had to be built. A new plan was made in consultation with an engineer at Belgaum and a handsome building was erected for the High School at a cost of Rs.15, 410.[43] It was indeed a neat and pleasant building to see with the Moti Talao surrounding it on three sides. It was one more building for which Colonel Westropp had been responsible.

A girl's school was started in Kudal in 1886 and a Technical School was opened at Sawantwadi town in 1887.[44] A Committee, under the Chief Medical Officer as President, was appointed to supervise the Technical School. From 1908, the post of the President was given to the Assistant Political Agent. And the work of supervision over the girl's school was given to a Committee with the State Karbhari as the President. In 1913-14, the work of these two Committees was handed over to the State Educational Inspector.[45] In 1890 there was one *High School and 88* Marathi schools started by the Government and 64 Marathi private schools in the State. With 5,185 students, the average daily attendance was 3,320. The High School had 250 students on its rolls with an average daily attendance of 206.[46]

The arrangement of taking some contributions from the people in the villages to start a school continued till 1878. It was however stopped that year. But it was started again for opening extra schools in less expenditure. But in 1900 the system was stopped completely. At that time the State had 57 schools and the total amount payable by the people was Rs. 2,418 annually. The annual expenditure of the schools was Rs. 14,437-14-0. The number of schools was fixed at 51 in order to stop the contribution from the people and the rate of fees from those paying Local Fund was increased from one-half of an anna to two annas as was there previously to one anna to four annas for those students. It was retained at the old rate of two annas to six annas from those of the remaining students.[47]

In 1904, a graduate teacher from Sawantwadi High School was sent to Pune Training College for two or two and a half months to study the new system of education followed there. When he returned from there,

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43. Ibid.
44. Ibid.
45. *SSS Ahawal*, p. 7.
46. SSR/History of Sawantwadi
47. *SSS Ahawal*, p. 7.

he began to teach the new system of education to primary teachers in Sawantwadi town. He was subsequently appointed as Special Instructor. From 1905, the State began to invite teachers from the villages to these classes. There were about twenty teachers, who were called to these classes, and after their training for two to three months, they were examined and certificates were given to those who passed the test. The class was stopped in 1910.[48] Some more new schools were opened in the subsequent years. A Marathi school was started for Scheduled Caste boys in the year 1912-13. In the same year the State Educational Department was put under the State Educational Inspector and the post of Inspector of Vernacular Schools was abolished[49].

World War I and further progress of education

The First World War started in 1914 and it ended in 1918. During the war, the total number of state schools had increased to 114 and the private schools had grown up to 23. The number of students had gone up to 10,247 and the literacy rate was 6.06 per cent. But there were extensive tracts in the state without schools.[50]

By the end of the First World War, a great opportunity had opened for India to assert her spirit for self-rule. The provinces under British rule had started their movement for Dominion Status and the Indian National Congress was growing gradually powerful to face the divide and rule policy of the British Empire. The people who belonged to the Indian States were, to a large extent, under the influence of the Congress and the British Government was making constitutional arrangements to erect a Princely force on its side. The movement was subscribed to by the Indian Princes to maintain their separate existence through the Narendra Mandal or Chamber of Princes.

Pension benefits were given to a couple of thousand of soldiers who had retired from military service at the end of the war. They included scholarships to schools both primary and secondary that brought in students even from villages that had no schools. Besides, there was an

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48. Ibid.

49. SSR/History of Sawantwadi.

50. *SSR/R 32/Revenue Settlement 1922-24*, para 26, p. 11. The number given by the Education Committee in Appendix 2 of its Report does however differ. The schools number 128, which have not counted nine of the private schools which were not aided by the State. The number of students is given as 9,466, for most probably the same reason. *SSS Ahawal*, Appendix 2, p. 73.

increasing demand in the country side for education. But this was not enough to actively support the effort to start schools in the villages that had remained without them because of the poverty of the people and the wide scattering of the population over a vast area of a village.

Informed attempt to spread education

When Prince Khem Sawant was born in 1897 as the heir apparent to the Gadi, he was given training under a British Governess, British officers and tutors and in a College in England to see if he could take in his hands the rulership of the State. The father of Khem Sawant had died when he was in England and he could come back in 1919 when the First World War had ended. He was indeed an Indian Prince who had the training and education of an English gentleman. He could not read and write Marathi, but he did learn it very quickly in spite of the time required for mastering many subjects for administration, law and judiciary, health and malaria, agriculture and forestry, and education. And after some delay because the British wanted him to have only partial powers initially, he was given full powers to rule over the State except external relations and armed forces.

When he became the Sardesai in 1924, he began to think of utilizing the revenues of the State and the other resources of the people for maintaining a forward-looking administration. He was aware of the poor revenues of the State and knew the vast expenditure that had to be devoted for solving the problems of the people. He decided the proportions of the budget that should be spent on the various departments. There was the expenditure of the Royal family including the Paga or horses and vehicles. He did not touch these expenses for whatever reasons he considered fit. But he did reign in the expenses of his own to Rs.2, 500 a month. The remaining expenses he divided among the other essentials. He had to consider the expenses for the eradication of malaria, which had devastated the State. He had to attend to the forest department so as to increase the income of the State. He had to have the administration in proper service to the State and the people. But in spite of these and other important departments, he decided to have ten per cent of the budget for education. He later on decided to have the octroi tax in exclusive service to education.

After making this allocation, the State had to consider how many schools could be started from year to year so that the whole area could be

covered to educate the children. The 137 schools, which were there at the end of World War I, were located in about 75 towns and villages. This left more than about one hundred and fifty villages without schools. The schools were in places, which covered only about one lakh of the population and left out about 60 per cent of it. They had to consider the children of the school-going age among them. The schools, which were to be provided, looked to be more than one hundred and fifty.[51]

By the end of 1924-25, there were in all 154 schools in the State. And the total number of students on their roll call was 11,618. Of this number, the number of students belonging to the Mahrattas was 5,561. This constituted about fifty per cent of the total number of students on the rolls But in actuality it formed about 20 per cent of the total percentage of about 80 per cent of the Mahratta population of the State.[52] The Brahmans who constituted less than 10 per cent of the population numbered 1,915. There were three High Schools at Sawantwadi, Kudal and Aronda, which were recognized by the Educational Department of the Bombay Presidency, and only the University of Bombay registered two of them Sawantwadi and Kudal. The number of students attending them was 618. Of them there were 157 Mahrattas and 332 Brahmans. Thus more than 50 per cent of the Brahman students attended the Schools whereas less than 25 per cent of the Mahrattas were students here. The eight Anglo-Vernacular Schools and Middle Schools in the State also told the same story. The number of students attending the schools was 577. Of these 171 or about 25 per cent were Mahrattas and 240 or 50 per cent were Brahmans.

It was quite clear that Mahrattas, who had about eighty per cent of the population in the State, were receiving the least of the educational facilities, which were so far created by the government This needed the opening of a much larger number of schools than had been opened so far. The Mahrattas were resting on the laurels of their past glory. The secret pride, which they nourished in their hearts, would not allow them to seek the new opportunity, which beckoned them. To entice them from this state of mind, it was first of all necessary to have schools in their villages. And the people needed the greatest attention in persuading them to send their children to school. The other castes in the State, depressed classes, the

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51. The figures are based on those given in Appendices 2 and 3 to the *SSS Ahawal*, pp. 73, 77-78. They are approximate figures and should be taken as informed guesswork.

52. The percentage is based on the total population of the State of Sawantwadi according to the 1921 Census that was 2,06,440.

Muslims and Christians were also similarly lower down in the scale in attending the schools. This could be remedied in the first instance by having a large number of schools in the villages. The number of Primary Schools in the year 1924-25 was 119 and the primary objective of the increased budget should be the starting of the large number of schools in the vast area of the villages.[53]

Khem Raj V had said in his speech on the occasion of assuming the rulership of the State that he realized that the majority community of the State was mostly illiterate and that he would give his special attention to their education. He said that he considered the encouragement of education of the backward classes to be one of his chief duties. But he felt that several schools had been opened in the State but the backward people had taken not enough advantage of them. But, he felt, that if the advanced people among them would advise their brethren of the importance of education so that they would send their sons and daughters to the schools, then it would be the work of great service to them.[54] While mentioning that the Kanya Shikshan Sanstha of Malwan had given him the honour of being its President, he felt that according to the address given by them, he had a desire to make a rapid progress of education among the class of women in the State. As the wish of Udaji Marathi Vidyarthi Griha had expressed in its address to him, he would consider it as his duty to help the Mahratta Education Conference's future educational movement. He was confident that the Mahratta community, which had remained backward at the moment, would start many institutions of the kind and makes progress like before in India and would attain their accustomed status.[55]

First of all, he thought of the people of the State in majority who were getting a lowest percentage of literacy benefit. They had indeed been of the same caste as his. They depended on their valour and skill in arms. They were led by Sardars belonging to their caste that fought for the Raja Bahadur when there was a need for protecting the interest of the State. They all received their Sanads and possessed the agricultural, gardening and other lands according to their merits. They were happy when they had their employment as soldiers, guards and various officers like Naiks, Desais, Sardars and Killedars and their emoluments. Their community,

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53. Administration Report of the Sawantwadi State, 1924-25. (Hereafter ARSS). pp. 34-35.
54. *Vainateya*, Year 1, No. 2, November 4, 1924, p. 2.
55. *Ibid.*

however, had suffered the most when their profession and income were taken away with the coming of the British. They had indeed fought for their living but had lost the war of independence. They lived in remote villages now, learning to live on a reduced income and maintaining the pride that they carried from the early days. It was natural for them not to think of literacy when not a school was established in their villages. When schools were there in the towns and village, the bulk of them would send their ward to them. But the schools were of recent years in some of the villages and they sent their sons to them tardily. They did go to Mumbai but did not think of literacy on the whole.

The same was the case with women. They lived in so called purdah when in contact with strangers. They were in the villages and could not be seen in the open except on certain occasions. The schools for girls were in the towns and could be counted on the five fingers

By 1927-28, the number of schools opened by the State had been raised 128 for boys and five for girls. There were 21 aided private schools in addition. This added up to 154 schools, 32 more than the 122 ten years earlier. There were also five classes that were being run at night. There were 9,795 students studying in the schools. The total expenditure on Education was Rs. 84,900 as against Rs. 47,610 in 1917-18. The State grant to the schools was Rs. 61,378 as against Rs. 21,214 in 1917-18. The total amount of revenue of the State was Rs. 668,594 as compared to Rs. 551,956 in 1917-18 and the percentage of the amount spent on Education to the amount of revenue in 1927-28 was 9.1 as compared to 3.8 during 1917-18. [56]

Trying to raise the standards of education

It was found that there were a large number of primary teachers who were untrained. The financial situation in the State would not allow the appointment of trained teachers at fat salaries. There were two teachers in the secondary schools with the degree of B.T. and two more were to take their degree the following year. In the months of April and May, if these holders of degree in education were to instruct about twenty-five primary teachers, they should do the trick within two years. That way the training of primary teachers could be taken care of. The teachers trained this way could be paid a little less than the salaries of regularly trained teachers.[57] It

56. The figures are based upon Appendix 2 to *SSS Ahawal*, pp. 73-76.

57. *Vainateya*, February 14, 1928, Year 4, No. 16, p. 5.

was announced in the course of the year that the State had been conducting the training classes for twenty-two primary teachers in the vacation.[58]

In the High Schools he was concerned with the effect of the learning process of education on the students. He had some answer papers of students of the sixth standard of Sawantwadi High School to be sent to him for reading.[59] He called Kantak, Head Master of the Sawantwadi High School, "and gave him a straight talking to." The students were passed indiscriminately for wholesale promotions. This was particularly noticeable to a great deal of cribbing showing an extraordinary lack of supervision on the part of the supervising staff and want of discipline, - insufficient supervision by the Head Master himself. A Minister was present at the interview.[60]

Khem Sawant V went to Kudal High School and examined seventeen boys out of whom some three or four did well. But in their case it seemed a question of memorizing. As regards the others it seemed that they could not put even five sentences of decent English together. The spelling was bad and the grammar appalling.[61]

He told the Education Inspector during a monthly interview that he was dissatisfied with the English textbooks that were sanctioned for the State. They contained too much of poetry, which was also of such kind which could not appeal to Indian boys. He asked to show him all the various kinds of readers that were published. He wanted to see personally which was the most suitable. The matter had become consequent because of his taking the English classes at the Banda and Madura schools. The Masters of Madura School were also complaining of the unsuitability of the textbooks.[62]

There were long discussions of Bapusaheb with the Head Master of the Sawantwadi High School and the Educational Inspector on educational matters chiefly concerning Prefect System and discipline and rules.[63] He discussed briefly the English Prefect System on the basis of a note he had prepared on the subject. He also suggested to him to have prepared a list

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58. *Vainateya*, November 6, 1928, Year 5, No. 1, p. 5.
59. Personal Diaries of Khem Sawant V, 1921-1937, (Hereafter Diary), March 21, 1929.
60. *Diary*, June 9, 1929.
61. *Diary*, April 5, 1930.
62. *Diary*, January 11, 1930.
63. *Diary*, November 7, 1930.

of Old Boys and to name boards of honours, cricket etc.[64] He had a talk with the Head Master of Kalsulkar High School and several other officers including Bakre, the Naib Diwan, and after considering the statistics of the Kalsulkar High School was rather a drawback to the system and some modification was necessary.[65]

Boy Scouts and compulsory physical training

Training of school teachers as Scout Masters in the State was organized at a camp in Amboli in the summer of 1933. An organizer sent down by the Bombay Provincial Boys Scouts Council was conducting it. That was the first camp of its kind they had in the State.[66] A draft for the constitution of the Cooperative Boys Scouts Association for the Sawantwadi State, which was prepared by Bapusaheb, was approved.[67] The Boy Scouts with their uniform, belts, turbans and lathis were seen in the State schools for the first time.

The gymnasium teacher of the Sawantwadi High School, S.M. Pai, who had been trained at Professor Manik Rao in Juma Dada Vyayam Mandir at Baroda in compulsory physical training, drew up a general curriculum divided into parts according to ages. It provided for the exercise of students into the school curriculum and every boy was to receive one and a half hours training a week. In the boarding school a more elaborate training should be given.[68]

Topiwalla Memorial Technical School

The Technical School at Sawantwadi had been there for more than forty years. Westropp had established the School in 1885. The School had been teaching carpentry, drawing and smithy to students of Sawantwadi English School of the various classes. In the year 1929-30 the Topiwalla Memorial Education Society, Mumbai, gave a grant to the institution and it was named since then The Topiwalla Memorial Technical School, Sawantwadi.[69] The school had acquired modern implements and it made arrangements to train students in carpentry, fret work, printing, smithy, lathe work and drawing. The students of the first six classes in

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64. *Diary*, January 12, 1931.
65. *Diary*, February 12, 1933.
66. *Diary*, May 9, 1933.
67. *Diary*, July 18 and 22, 1934.
68. *Diary*, January 20, 1931.
69. ARSS, 1929-30, p. 32.

Sawantwadi High School received training for two hours a week. One of the subjects was taught as a compulsory subject to the boys. Drawing was taught according to the Elementary and Intermediate Course of the Art School in Mumbai. Carpentry was taught according to the Manual Training Course prescribed by the Committee of Direction for Technical Education in Mumbai. The course is in two parts, carpentry and carpentry drawing. The students who did not belong to the Sawantwadi High School attended the courses for three hours every working day and were given free education in English and other subjects in the High School.[70] The *Vainateya*, quoting an interview with a person, remembered Chudekar, Haldankar, Khandekar, Potdar, Rangnekar, Lad, Satavlekar, Sabnis, Adarkar and others who had studied in the Technical School to ultimately become painters or sculptors.[71]

The results of the Sawantwadi High School compared favourably with those of the average results declared by the Bombay University. For the year 1928, 11,552 students appeared for Matriculation examination of the university and 4,119 passed the examination. The Sawantwadi High School had sent up 54 students out of which 17 passed. It compares 2.8 per cent with 3.17.[72]

There was the effort of people, which led important persons to donate large funds for schools in their places of origin. Some people among those who had gone out to Mumbai or Karachi for seeking their fortune had done extremely well. Four such persons had donated large amounts for starting schools in their villages. Anant Shivaji Desai Topiwale from Mumbai donated Rs. 30,000 to an English school in Valaval and Narayanrao Desai Topiwale donated Rs. 8,500 to the same school. Bhikaji Pandurang Valawalkar of Murgao, Goa, gave Rs. 10,500 for an English school at Madura and Dr. Ramji Dhondji Khanolkar of Queta donated Rs. 6,000 for an English school at Math.[73]

Sawantwadi Education Committee appointed

On June 19, 1928 Khem Sawant V appointed a committee to review the existing condition of education in the State with a view to improving it further. R.V. Parulekar was nominated as the Chairman of the Education

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70. *SSS Ahawal*, p. 45.
71. *Vainateya*, May 17, 1938, Year 14, No. 28, p. 5.
72. *Vainateya*, June 5, 1928, Year 4, No. 32, p. 5.
73. *SSS Ahawal*, p. 8.

Committee with four other persons as members.[74] They were all knowledgeable and experienced persons in scholastic education. Parulekar was himself a person from Sawantwadi, who, having worked as the head of a High School in Malwan, went to Mumbai to distinguish himself as publicist and authority on the British education on the Bombay Presidency.

The Sawantwadi Education Committee was to suggest means for improvement with special reference to agricultural and vocational education, the education of girls, adult education in the villages, introduction on a large scale of the shift system and training classes for the primary teachers. They were asked to recommend how large hostels or boarding houses attached to the High Schools could be built and run them and the High Schools in general on the lines of English Public Schools.[75] The Parulekar Committee submitted its Report on August 1, 1930. The Darbar passed its orders on the various suggestions made by the Committee and appointed a Board of Education consisting of nominated official and non-official members with the Minister in charge of Education as President to give effect to the recommendations of the Committee. The Board met once a quarter at least during the course of a year.[76] The Education Department had printed information with figures for five years and published it in the local newspaper for the benefit of the general public.[77]

Recommendations of Sawantwadi Shikshan Samitee

The Committee, on the basis of the Census of 1921, decided that in general there were 31,000 children who had to go to school in the State. This was calculated at 15 per cent of 2,06,440, which was the total population of the State. There were then 8700 children going to government and private schools, 7300 of them being boys and 1400 girls. It was therefore necessary for 22,300 children to go to school. Assuming that there were equal number of boys and girls in the children of that

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74. *SSR/R 7/F6, Savantvadi Durbari Gazette, 1927-28*, June 27, 1928, Vol. XXXIX, No. 48, p. 296. Huzur Order No. 55 of June 19, 1928.
75. *Ibid.*
76. *SSR/R 33/F.ADM-HA/Political-Chamber of Princes*, A draft reply to the Questionnaire sent by the Chamber of Princes (Narendra Mandal) with their circular No. 87/VII-232 dated August 12, 1943. The information was not sent. Letter with enclosure No. 2130 dated October 25, 1944 by the Naib Diwan to the Diwan in response to his letter No. 1905 of October 20, 1944 for sending a reply to the Chamber of Princes.
77. *SSS Ahawal*, p. 2.

number, there should be 8200 boys and 14,100 girls who had to get the schooling facility.[78]

The number of towns and villages in the State were 225. Of these there were three villages that were not inhabited. In the remaining 222 villages and towns, there were 98 that had government schools. There were 15 aided private schools in the same villages. There were only government aided private schools in eight villages. In all there were 106 villages that had schools. But the village population of Kansral had the facility of sending their children to a government school in Santral. So it was necessary to organize schooling facilities in 115 villages. Of these there were only 64 villages, which had a population of more than 300, and it would be necessary for State schools to be opened there. [79]

There were only 27 school buildings that were built by the State. There were two that had been taken on rent. Six belonged to private persons. But these had been given by them to be used for schools. And sixty-three had been built by the people at their own expense and given over to the government and were its property. Twenty-six schools were held in the temples. The same method might be followed to get buildings built by villagers on land that had to be obtained from them.[80]

The Committee recommended that there should be two types of primary Marathi schools. The first type should have only five or four classes teaching reading, writing and arithmetic. There should be taught in the second and third standard the history of Sawantwadi State, geography and political administration. They should be taught special subjects like drawing, farming and horticulture, observation of nature, and knowledge of trade and commerce. There should be a garden around the school where fruit and flower trees were nourished. There should not be a special teacher to teach these subjects. But there should be care to see that the teacher appointed should know these subjects. They should have handicrafts to produce paper or match sticks etc. They should take the students to see farming and small scale industry and make them take notes on the spot.[81]

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78. *Ibid.*, p. 8.
79. *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9.
80. *Ibid.*, pp. 16-17.
81. *Ibid.*, pp. 20-21.

In the case of the girls' school, the Committee recommended that their education should be the same as of the boys. But they laid a special stress on their being taught stitching and singing. Drawing, handicraft and the observation of nature had an equal importance with that of the boys' curriculum.[82]

The second type of Marathi school should teach the fifth, sixth and seventh class. There should be only 15 schools of this type. The students should be taught the first three years of English, which will stand them in good stead in future situations, whether they went up for a job or in a High School. They should be given compulsory choice of two of the three subjects of drawing, farming and carpentry.[83]

The teachers were recommended a time scale and promotion according to merit. A new scale of pay and pension was recommended. The Committee observed that the practice of sending three or four teachers every year for training in British territory should be continued. There should be refresher's classes in the vacation every year for senior and qualified teachers. And a local normal class should be organized every year for twenty to twenty-five vernacular final passed teachers so that they would get acquainted with the advanced system of teaching.[84]

The Committee recommended that the Sawantwadi State should have only four secondary schools. The High Schools, which were at Sawantwadi and Kudal and the two English schools running five classes, should be continued. The remaining five English schools teaching only three classes should be discontinued. The teachers should be used in other schools.[85]

Games and physical exercise

The Committee approved of the activities of Khem Sawant V and the schools to start the athletic and cricket games in the State and to continue them from 1926. Bapusaheb had started the winter athletic meet every year in which the students of the English schools of Sawantwadi, Kudal, Banda, Aronda, Math and Valaval and of the Marathi schools up to the seventh standard took part. It was a festival, the venue of which was shifted to different places every year. Students practised for participation in

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82. *Ibid.*, p. 21.
83. *Ibid.*, pp. 21-22.
84. *Ibid.*, pp. 29-31.
85. *Ibid.*, pp. 31-33.

the games and for getting the senior and junior shields in the entire tournaments or the senior or junior championship cups. There were other medals or cash prizes kept for the students.[86]

They also approved of cricket that was made available to students of all standards belonging to English schools. There was a fee collected from students and the class was given a set of cricket that was to be played at the gymkhana grounds. There were inter-class matches and regular inter-class tournaments. The best players played in the inter-ward tournaments and ultimately in the matches played by the Sawantwadi teams against those from outside. Bapusaheb also played in those tournaments.

Many other recommendations were made by the Committee on, for example, adult education, medical examination, student cooperative societies, Public School System, student hostels, school discipline, first aid, Urdu education and education of the depressed classes. They suggested the educational officers and their duties and gave an account of the increased expenditure they had recommended. And last of all, they gave their recommendation for the constitution of an Educational Advisory Board, its Petha or Regional Committees, and their function. The Educational Advisory Board was to consist of five ex-officio members including the Diwan in charge of Education and five non-official members. The Petha Committees will be three and should have the Kamavisdar as the Chairman and the sub-assistant surgeon as the two ex-officio members and three other non-official members.[87]

Progress of education after the Committee report

The Educational Advisory Board was appointed and the powers to be given to it were discussed and decided.[88] The non-official members of this Board were nominated by the Regent for one year with effect from August 1, 1944 included R.J. Tendulkar, Head Master of the Kalsulkar High School.[89]

The Naib Diwan reported it in 1937 that seven additional schools had been opened in seven villages and five aided schools had been started in five more villages. The Adult Education League had enrolled till

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86. *Ibid.*, p. 49
87. *Ibid.*, pp. 60-61.
88. *Diary*, June 5, 1934.
89. *SSR/R 10/Sawantwadi Darbari Gazette 1944-45/*, August 1, 1944, Vol. 57, No. 1, Part I, p. 2.

then 154 members. As an experimental measure, a paid propagandist had been appointed. One more book had been published and another was being prepared. These books were being widely circulated throughout the State. The agricultural course was extended to Standard VI in the Banda Anglo-Vernacular School in 1936. An additional assistant staff had been added to the technical school thus adding to its utility. [90]

Forty primary teachers completed their education of the first part in a Refresher course started in Kalsuli. A strict circular was issued asking people not to discriminate against Harijan students.[91] The Darbar saying that the Harijans should be taken into service and that they should be treated well issued an order.[92]

By the end of 1937, the *Vainateya* wrote that in this State of the extent of one and a half to two talukas, there are three complete High Schools with eight to ten English schools belonging to belonging to the government and private persons. There are so many graduates here as compared to the population of the State that one might not be able to discover such proportion in advanced countries. Girls are given education in the Government High Schools free of charge.[93]

There was an interesting episode at Valaval regarding the entry into the temple hall of *Harijan* boys for attending the school. The Naib Diwan, Bakre, the Kamavisdar of Kudal, Anthony Fernandez and Mahadeo Tukaram Valavalkar tried to convince the people of Valaval that the registered school and the Panchayat assemble in the *dharmashala* of the temple. But some four or five persons who consider themselves as devoted to their religion were insisting that they would not allow *Harijans* to enter the temple. The Kamavisdar said that whereas they allowed a person of another religion to enter the temple, how did they not allow the persons of their own religion to enter? They had to tell them that one of the several *dharmashalas* must be given for the school including the Harijans.[94]

This was followed by an order signed by the Regent which said that she believed it to be very essential to do away with untouchability and to

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90. *SSR/R 9/Gazette 1937-38*, August 2, 1937, Vol. 50, No.1, pp. 2-3.
91. SSR/*R 55/Sawantwadi Darbari Gazette 1939-40/*, September 1, 1939, Vol. 52, No. 3, Part I, pp. 8-11.
92. *Ibid.*
93. *Vainateya*, December 21. 1937. Year 14, No. 7, p. 4.
94. *Ibid.*, p. 5.

remove the disabilities the *Harijans* had to suffer. She said that they had been taking measures that had become possible in the past. She laid down the policy of the State Government in future. *Harijan* children would be treated in the same way as the other children in the State schools and those that were aided by it. There should be no restriction on the mixing of children. The aided schools would lose their grant if they failed to behave according to the norms set down. The *Harijans* would be treated without any restriction in offices, courts, dispensaries and they would have access to employment. So long as the public was not ready, the State was not ordering the *Devasthans*, wells and *dharmashalas* to be opened to *Harijans*. But, she assured the people, she would do so when the circumstances were favourable.[95]

Sawantwadi State Education Conference

The Sawantwadi State Education Conference was held by the end of December 1940 of which R.V. Parulekar was the president. He said that Bakre had stated that there were then 200 schools in the State and 13,398 students were taking education there. There were 350 girls who were taking English education and the spread of literacy in the State had been continuing during the four preceding years. The Regent Ranisaheb added that the number of schools showed a sufficient increase but then the quality or raising the standard of education had to be thought of.[96] Parulekar said in a speech delivered a few days later that in Ratnagiri District in 1938, 43 children in a thousand of population went to school whereas 45 children in the State of Sawantwadi were studying. But if the figures of 1939 were examined, the number had increased to 49 but it had come down to 44 in Sawantwadi. The reason was that the Congress Party, which had come to power in Bombay Presidency, had adopted the policy of having the less expensive voluntary schools and implemented it immediately. The effect of that was the number of voluntary schools in the Presidency increased in a large measure and in Ratnagiri District the number of primary students went up by ten thousand. In the ten years between 1928 to 1938 the number had increased by 12,000. That is, the number had increased by 1200 a year on an average.[97]

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95. *SSR/R 9/SDG 1938-39*, Vol. 51, No. 9, December 1, 1938, pp. 35-36. This order has been given in Chapter 7.
96. *vainateya*, December 31, 1940, Year 17, No. 5, p. 3.
97. *Vainateya*, January 7, 1941, Year 17, No. 6, p. 3.

The numbers considered in the last paragraph, according to Parulekar, were of boys and girls together. Considering only the case of girls, one would find the progress of Sawantwadi much higher than that of the Ratnagiri District. In 1928, of the 100 students in the primary schools, Sawantwadi State had 16 girls, but in the Ratnagiri District the number was six. After 11 years, that is in 1939, these figures were 19 and six. That the number of girls receiving education in Sawantwadi State was thrice the number in Ratnagiri District should be considered creditable to the former, as it was more important to have the progress of education of the girls than that of boys.[98]

Considering the progress of secondary education, Parulekar observed, there were in Sawantwadi town in 1928, 1,000 students and in 1939, 1,700. If the primary and secondary students were added together, there were in 1,000 students, 100 students taking secondary education in 1928 and in 1939 they were 134. In Ratnagiri District in the two same years the numbers were 59 and 66. It could be seen by the comparison of those sets of numbers that Sawantwadi State was in advance of the Ratnagiri District by twice in secondary education. Not only in secondary education but also in primary education in the fifth, sixth and seventh classes as well, Sawantwadi State were slightly ahead of Ratnagiri District. In 1939, Sawantwadi State had 86 students in 1,000 in the higher classes of primary education when Ratnagiri District had 74. It was quite noticeable that secondary education had a greater emphasis in Sawantwadi State in the last several years. In 1938 there were 11,000 in primary schools in Sawantwadi State, but in 1939 the number did not change. Yet the number of secondary students that was 1,500 in 1938 was 1,700 in 1939. In 1928, the secondary school students were 1,000 and the primary school students 8,800. In eleven years, the secondary students number had gone up to 1,700 and that of primary students to 11,000. That year the primary students number had gone up by 26 per cent and of secondary school students by 70 per cent. And the percentage of increase in 11 years was 42 and 63 respectively in Ratnagiri District. Most of the people leave the State in search of industry and profession and the person having a little knowledge of English has the greater value in competition.[99]

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98. *Ibid.*

99. *Ibid.*

In a speech in January 1941, Parulekar observed that in Sawantwadi State there were ten secondary schools. Among them there were two State high schools and one private one. And seven of them were State middle schools. He said that there was seven per cent literacy according to the Census of 1931. The figure for Ratnagiri District was 6.5. The literacy percentage of Belgaum District and Kolhapur State was 6 and of the whole area of Bombay Presidency it was 9.[100]

Further progress after 1941

The population according to the 1941 of Sawantwadi State was 2,52,170. Those who were literate were 43,699, the males being 36,498 and women 7,201. The percentage of literates came to 17.3 and the difference in ten years came to 10 per cent.[101]

No new schools could be opened by the State in 1941 because of financial difficulties.[102] The resolution passed unanimously by the Board of Education during 1941 saying that the Aronda school should start the sixth class was not honoured by the State.[103] The Regent Ranisaheb admitted that the financial position of the Education Department was not very satisfactory. She said that the demands of primary education had not yet been completely satisfied. She pointed out that the State had been running two High Schools and the up gradation of the Girls' School to the High School level was still to be done. Deputing a secondary teacher for B.T. education would require additional expenditure. The Board of Education would have to find out how much money would be required to satisfy the increased expenditure on secondary education for some years. After consideration of the budget of the Department for every year, if the Board would think it was necessary to make certain expenditure, they might send the proposal to the Regent Ranisaheb for consideration.[104]

Many families of Sawantwadi people came from Mumbai in the first half of 1942. The number of students who could attend the classes in the English schools had been increased. So new teachers had not to be appointed. An attempt was being made to introduce industrial training in the primary schools.[105]

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100. *Vainateya*, January 14, 1941, Year 17, No. 7, p. 9.
101. *SSR/R 55/Sawantwadi Darbari Gazette 1940-41/* April 1, 1941, Vol. 53, No. 17 Part I, p. 111.
102. *Vainateya*, April 29, 1941, Year 17, No. 22, p. 5.
103. *Vainateya*, June 17, 1941, Year 17, No. 29. p. 4.
104. *Vainateya*, June 24, 1941, Year 17, No. 30, p. 5.
105. *Vainateya*, September 1, 1942, Year 18, No. 40, p. 3.

There was an appeal to the past students of Anglo-Marathi School to collect funds for the building. There was an appeal to collect funds for the Majgaon school building by subscription.[106]

The Regent also went on a tour to Camp Dukanwad in January 1943. She opened a primary school building built by the villagers at Shivapur. The Gadkaris and Rawools of Manohargad had united and the Education Department was giving aid to the school at Gadkari Awath.[107]

There were 222 schools in the State at the end of 1942-43. The State owned schools numbered 160 and 62 were State aided. Thus the total number had increased from 155 to 222 during the ten years from 1932-33. The total number of students was 14,277 including 3,010 girls. Of them, 7,247 were Mahrattas, 2,189 Brahmans, 387 Harijans, 403 Mohammedans, 426 Christians and 3,625 other Hindus. The number of State schools had increased from 129 to 160 and the number of State aided schools from 26 to 62. During the period, the number students had increased from 9,396 to 14,277.[108]

There were three High Schools, two of which were run by the State and one was an aided institution receiving grant from the State. In 1942-43, there were 12 Anglo-Marathi and Middle Schools in the State as compared with seven ten years before. Of those, eleven were State schools and one was a private school receiving grant from the State. The total number of primary schools increased from 144 to 205. Of the 205, 145 were State schools and 60 were private schools aided by the State. The number of students had increased from 7,481 to 10,191. The number of girls increased from 1,404 to 2,412.[109]

Students of the depressed classes received free education in all State institutions. They were also given slates and books free by the Educational Department. The girls received free education in the primary schools and were charged half the normal fees in the English schools. Students belonging to the Mahratta community who were poor and deserving were given free ships in all State schools without limit. There

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106. *Vainateya*, December 22, 1942, Year 19, No. 4, pp. 5 and 6.
107. *SSR/R 33/F.ADM-HA36/ Notes on Her Highness's tours to State villages 1941-47.*
108. *SSR/R 33/F.ADM-HA/Political - Chamber of Princes*, Letter by Naib Diwan to Diwan cited earlier.
109. *Ibid.*

were Mahratta Boardings at Sawantwadi and Kudal, which received a grant from the Educational Department.[110]

The Adult Education League was started in 1936-37. It received a grant from the Educational Department. The number of adults who had passed the adult literacy test was 469. The League had published three books suitable for the teaching of adults. At the end of 1942-43, there were 14 adult education classes that were attended by 288 adults.[111]

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110. *Ibid.*

111. *Ibid.*

Chapter 12

AGRICULTURE, HORTICULTURE, FOREST, COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY

Agriculture, horticulture, forest and overseas trading

OGILBY WROTE IN 1670 that the "rustics" of the Konkan maintained themselves with sowings of rice and fishing. On these they lived very poorly. They inhabited near the seashore and the banks of rivers for the coconut trees grew conveniently in these areas.[1] He described the common run of people he could meet in places he visited. But there were people all over the cultivated area who owned large and small pieces of land which they tilled, the coconuts which gave them food, drink and shelter, the vegetables and fruit which enriched their living and the fish from the sea and rivers which gave them nourishment. The soil was not rich for yields but the people on the whole had a square meal.

But the people engaged in dealing with pepper, as Ogilby noticed, which was imported from Karnatak and exported to Persia and Europe, and, as we know, to the Arabian Gulf and the Red Sea ports. They sent it to Surat also. "They deal likewise in all sorts of provisions," he says, "for, this country is the storehouse for all its neighbours. The inhabitants also drive a great trade in calico, and another sort of cloth called beirames, which, being brought by land from Hindostan, Golkonda, and Coromandel, is sold to great advantage." There were goods brought by Vanjaries, especially corn and provisions, who transported them over the whole country of Hindusthan and the Deccan. They brought with them *kafilas* consisting of three, four, and sometimes eight or ten thousand bullocks carrying bags full of provisions on both their sides. They were accompanied with women and children, which follow them like an army.[2]

This was an important part of the economy and all villages on the trade routes had to protect the merchants by providing watchmen. The forts on their way were garrisoned for the protection of the trade. So did sailors man the navy and the forts along the seacoast maintained for protection of the external trade. There were a large number of people to man the trade and shipping. This vital part of the economy depended on

1. Ogilby's *Atlas,* Part V, p. 249.
2. *Ibid.*

the ports and trade routes across the Sahyadri, which were taken off their control by the British. The economy of Sawantwadi State in the nineteenth century was deprived of the basic commodity of cotton textiles, which they could get from across the mountains. They were deprived of land and sea customs, which the British had taken under their own administration. There were no ports under their control as they were taken over by the British. The people of Sawantwadi State could only get the commodities necessary for living from the surrounding areas by sea and land and export timber, coconuts and agricultural and small scale industry products to people in Mumbai and other cities and towns in the neighbourhood. Thus it was agriculture, horticulture, floriculture, forestry, commerce and trade, which formed the economy of the Sawantwadi State during the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth centuries.

Agriculture and horticulture mainly supported the people

The profession of agriculture was practised by 127,370 persons or sixty-nine per cent of the whole population according to the Census of 1871. The revenue survey was on in 1878 and so the exact tillage could not be given. But it was put down approximately at 143,666 hectares. A vast majority of this land was known as *varkas* and they were situated on uplands and hill slopes. They were allowed to lie fallow from three to ten years, two or three crops were then grown, and then the land was again left fallow. [3]

Revenue Settlement Report, 1921

There were two Revenue Settlement Reports on Sawantwadi State, the first one was published in 1886 and the second in 1924. The author of the 1924 report was impressed by the chief characteristic of Sawantwadi, which was the wonderful variety of its countryside, which changed every few kilometers as one went from north to south or east to west. Villages were separated from one another by an endless diversity of wood, river and hill scenery.[4]

On the eastern boundary of the State, on the crest of the range about 800 metres above sea level, there were lands of three villages of

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3. Sakharam Baji Bavdekar, "Agriculture", in Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Vol. X, Ratnagiri and Sawantwadi, (Hereafter Bombay Gazetteer, Sawantwadi), Mumbai, 1880, p. 423.
4. Sawantwadi State Records/R 32/Revenue Settlement Report, 1922-24, (Hereafter SSR and Rev. Settle. Rep. 1924), p. 3, para 8.

Gele, Amboli and Chowkul extending for 15 miles along the crest of the hills and varying from four to six miles in breadth. The only good soil was in the beds of the Ghataprabha and Hiranyakeshi, both of which rose in that area. These two rivers flowed through a thin soiled tract containing in their muddy bed long and unbroken areas of rich summer rice.[5] Further south a projection of Belgaum contained four villages, which extended down the Ghats almost to the village of Parma.[6]

The Report observes, "Below the Ghats the State may be imagined as divided into two irregular halves by a line drawn from Banda in a north-westerly direction to Akeri, due north through Ghaonal to Avlegaon, and then north-east to Kalsuli and Dariste. ... Far on the east the Ghats determine the character of the country. Immense spurs projecting from the main body of the hills run out almost at right angles for a distance up to a dozen miles into the interior of both Kudal and Wadi Pethas. In the valleys between these projections the rivers rush like torrents until the deluge of water has been carried off the hills, and then sink rapidly at the beginning of cold weather into small streams. The most important spur is that which joins the forts of Manohar and Manasantosh to the Sahyadri by a narrow ridge, and then extending to the centre of the State curves round the capital in a series of peaks ranging from 300 to 1100 feet, and dies away a few miles south east of the town. A less important projection is that which joins Kalsuli and Kasal and extends right across the north of Kudal. A third noticeable mass of ridges, jutting out of the Ghat line into the State, is found in the neighbourhood of Narur on the boundary of Wadi and Kudal Pethas. These three collections of hills, which may for convenience be termed as Manohar-Wadi, the Kalsuli-Kasal and the Narur ridges define or determine the principle malarious areas in the State."[7]

Water supply

The water supply, said the Report, was constant in the eastern half of the State. But it was much more irregular in the western half. It was poor in the north, better in the centre, and excellent in the north. The upper block of Kudal, north of the Rateri River, was on the west and north almost devoid of summer rice. The upper part of Kudal was without water for irrigation although the large Gadnadi traversed the tract on the northern

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5. *Ibid.*, p. 3, para 7 and p. 4, para 9.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 3, para 7.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5, para 10.

boundary, by the Pitdhaval north of Kasal and the Rateri north of Wadi Humarmalla. However, this area had broad valleys containing large stretches of unbroken rice land.[8]

The central portion of Kudal and west of Wadi Petha had generally a good water supply to grow dry weather rice with very little irrigation in their best soil. This less arduous form of cultivation was not possible in the south westerly corner of Kudal where the laterite plateau of the Vengurla Taluka extended into the State for three or four miles, rendering the quality of the soil and the water supply much poorer than in the adjoining villages. Outside this laterite formation the water supply steadily improved from north to south. The border villages of Wadi Petha, Tulas and Matond possessed the richly watered valleys, which were the feature of western Banda.[9]

The Karli and Terekhol rivers were tidal at distances of about 15 miles from the sea to broad navigable creeks. They supplied water to continuous stretches of garden land on their banks. The only river between them was the Talavde, four miles to the south of Vengurla, which was valuable on account of the coconut gardens, which it irrigated.[10]

Soil unfit to yield better crops

There was no good soil over any expanse of the State. Colonel Lester said in the Gazetteer that the State soil was chiefly a light sand, full of stones and gravel, and unable to yield the better class of crops.[11]

The prevailing soils in the west were light coloured and have a clayey or sandy nature. A dark coloured laterite soil was found in the southwestern corner of Kudal. But generally the darker only occurred in the east where there was a larger percentage of vegetable matter than was supplied by the more thinly wooded hills of the west. The only really good soil was found in small black patches at the foot of the Ghats, where it was naturally irrigated by hill rivulets and fertilized by leaf manure. But these patches were too few to weaken Colonel Lester's conclusion. The remark, which Gibson made regarding Wadi Petha, was true of the greater part of the State. "The soils through out the District are of an inferior quality

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8. *Ibid.*, p. 5.
9. *Ibid.*
10. *Ibid.*
11. *Ibid.*, p. 5, para 12.

and owing to their sandy nature soon affected by any deficiency in the rainfall."[12]

Cultivation and crops

The total areas classified for cultivation in 1921 were about 24,503 hectares of *Kharib* land, 932 hectares of *Rabi* land, 1,25,676 hectares of *Warkas* land, and 2,290 hectares of *Bagayat* land. These added up to 1,53,401 hectares, which was the total area which could be cultivated in a year. The total area belonging to the various classes in 1886 was more or less the same as the area of 1921.[13]

About 75 per cent of the cultivable land was hilly and was classed as *warkas*. This land could be utilized to grow inferior millet such as *nachni, wari, harik* etc., and that too once in four years on an average. Further *kumri-ing* of such land as also for furnishing *rab* material for the rice land, some portion of the *warkas* area had to be reserved and left fallow for the growth of scrubby jungle. When a margin was left for these purposes, there still remained an appreciable *warkas* area which was assessed at very low rates but which remained altogether unproductive. Though some trees of economic value such as the cashew, the jack, the harda were found growing wild on the *warkas* land, no attempt was made to supplement such trees by artificial regeneration.[14]

The total area under State forest in 1921 was 14,491 hectares of Reserved and 186 hectares of Protected Forest. Since 1886 Reserved Forest had decreased by 594 hectares and Protected Forest had increased by 22 hectares. The total area of State Forest was small as compared to the area of Forest land in private occupation of which a large part was subject to the Kumri system of cultivation.[15]

The total area in the State was 2,39,614 hectares, according to the Administration Report of Sawantwadi, 1929-30. From this, 14,082 hectares was the area of the forest and 50,303 hectares constituted uncultivated waste.[16]

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12. *Ibid.*
13. *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7, para 15.
14. Administration Report of the Sawantwadi State, 1924-25, (Hereafter Administration Report), p. 19.
15. SSR/Rev. Settle. Rep. 1924, p. 7, para 15.
16. Administration Report, 1929-30, p. 4.

It is reported in the Administration Report, 1924-25, that 66,090 hectares remained fallow, being cultivable only at certain intervals and 20,557 hectares was set apart for rabi cultivation. Area available was 67,201 hectares. In that year, the occupants relinquished 1,087 hectares, 2,055 hectares were forfeited and the remaining uncultivated during the year and 10,421 hectares could not be brought under cultivation on account of malaria, emigration and decrease of population. Efforts were being made to bring more uncultivated land under cultivation in malarial tracts by advancing takavi and land improvement loans on a larger scale.[17]

The average percentages of the principal crops relative to the total cropped area were Rice 48.43, *Nagali* 17.84, *Tur, Udid and Kulith* 17.69 and other pulses like *Harik* was 7.29 and *Wari* 3.61.[18]

Tenure and holdings

Lands were held on two different tenures: *Dharekari* and *Sheri*. *Dharekari* lands were held with full occupancy rights subject to the payment of the assessment. *Sheri* or State lands were held on terms prescribed by the State Government. These *Sheri* lands comprised the original property of the Raja and in addition a portion of such lands as had been abandoned by the occupant or had lapsed to the State. *Sheri* lands were held either for a period of 25 years or on permanent tenure subject to varying conditions as regards alienation. Their holders paid either rent or assessment or *judi*. All *Sheri* lands were assessed, but where rent was paid, the assessment was not collected.[19]

The Agriculturalists, as given by the Revenue Settlement Report, were 127,865 tenants and their sub-sharers, 25,031 other landholders, and labourers 8,335, the total being 161,231. The non-agriculturalists were 45,209.[20]

For a peasant in 1880, land paying from Rs. 150 to Rs. 200 a year was considered a large holding; from Rs. 25 to Rs. 50 a middle size holding; and from annas 4 to Rs. 25 a small holding. In that period, a man with four acres of rice land and one acre of hill land, *bharad*, yielding three tons or seven *bharas* of produce valued at Rs. 112, was better off than a man drawing Rs. 8 a month. A pair of oxen could till from two to three

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17. Administration Report, 1924-25, p. 11.
18. SSR/Rev. Settle. Rep. 1924, p. 5, para 12.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 8, para 17.
20. *Ibid.*

acres of land yielding about one and five seventh tons or four *bharad* of grain worth about Rs. 64.[21]

The farmer's live stock generally included bullocks valued at from Rs. 15 to Rs. 40; buffaloes worth from Rs. 10 to Rs. 50; cows worth from Rs. 10 to Rs. 30; and goats worth from annas 8 to Rs. 2. The field tools were the plough, axe, spade, billhook, crowbar, and harrow. The amount of capital represented by the tools and cattle was Rs. 50.[22]

Ploughing and watering the fields and raising crop

During the rains mountain streams watered rice lands, and in the dry season, fields were watered by lifts from brooks, wells and ponds. The water from the brooks was carried through fields and gardens by narrow watercourses. The water of the wells and ponds was drawn by a lever lift, *lat*, worked by a single man, the bucket emptying into a channel at the mouth of the well.[23]

The average plough of land varied from three to four acres. The steps taken to prepare the ground for sowing the wet weather, *sharad*, crop varied greatly in different soils. Moist, *shel*, lands were broken up with the plough as early as December, and between December and April when sowing began, were re-ploughed nine or ten times. In the drier lands the ploughing did not begin till April or May. The soil was then harrowed, manured by burning tree branches, and again harrowed.[24]

There were two seasons for sowing. The crops were distinguished as the dry weather, *gimvas* or *vaingan*, and the wet weather, *pavsali.* The dry weather crops were sown in November and December, and harvested in March and April. These crops were grown only on marshy land watered from rivers. They were rice, *bhat*, Oryza sativa; *nachni*, Eleusine corocana; *kulith*, Dolichos uniflorus; *udid*, Phaseolus mungo; *mug*, Phaseolus radiatus; *chavli*, Dolichos sinensis; *pavta*, Dolichos lablab; and *tur*, Cajanus indicus. The wet weather crops, sown in June and July, were reaped in September, October, and November. They were rice, *vari*, Panicum miliare, *nachni, udid, sava, harik, kulith, mug,* and *tur*. The staple grain crop, representing about one-half of the whole tillage area, was rice. The remaining fifty per cent was divided among fourteen different kinds of

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21. Sakharam Baji Bavdekar, "Agriculture", in *Bombay Gazetteer, Sawantwadi*, p. 423.
22. *Ibid.*, pp. 423 - 424.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 423.
24. *Ibid.*

produce. The chief of the commoner grains, and the proportion they bore to the entire tillage, were *nachni* or *nagli*, Eleusine corocana, 12.50 per cent; *harik*, Paspalum frumentaceum, 9.37 per cent; *kulith*, Dolichos uniflorus, 6.25 per cent; *vari*, Panicum miliare, 6.25 per cent; *udid*, Phaseolus mungo, 3.13 per cent; *mug*, Phaseolus radiatus, 3.13 per cent; *sava*, Panicum miliaceum, 3.13 per cent; other crops, as *til*, Sesamum indicum, *chavli*, Dolichos sinensi, *kang*, Panicum pilosum, *tur* Cajanus indicus, *us* Saccharum officinarum, *pavta*, coffee, *bund*, pepper, *miri*, and hemp, 8 per cent.[25]

Rice, Oryza sativa, held the first place with about fifty per cent of the whole tillage area. For the wet weather crop, in June, after a few showers, the field, if in high moist soil, was sown with rice and ploughed. The plants shot up after a few heavy falls of rain. They were then allowed to grow for a month, and when the soil had become soft, they were pulled up in bunches and planted eight or ten inches apart, in land previously ploughed and cleared of grass. In some villages the seed was sown in nurseries, and when ready to set out, the young plants were in due time carried two or three miles. The field was afterwards weeded from time to time, till, in October or November, the crop was ready for cutting. After being cut it was spread out to dry.[26] It was then tied in sheaves, after a month thrashed by beating the sheaves against a well-cleaned threshing floor, and finally winnowed. If the soil could bear a second crop, it was again prepared in Nonmember, and the same course of labour was gone through. The soil did not require a second manuring nor were the clods of earth broken after ploughing. One crop in the best, *shel*, rice lands, which were never used for a second crop, yielded from six-seventh ton to one and one-fourteenth tons (8-10 *khandis*) the acre; and the second sort from nine-fourteenths to three-fourths of a ton (6-7 *khandis*). Rice[27] was of two kinds, coarse *ukde*, and fine *surai*. Before separating the seed from the

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25. *Ibid.*, p. 424.

26. The names of rice in the various stages of its growth were, (1) *bi*, seed; (2) *rov*, the early green shoots; (3) *tarva*, when ready for transplanting; (4) *posavle*, when seed pods began to form; (5) *dudhgile*, when the seed had a milky consistency; and (6) *bhat*, when it was ready to be gathered in. *Ibid.*

27. Of thirty varieties of rice, seven were of the better and twenty-three of the poorer sort. The seven better sorts of rice were, *kothambire, khirsal, gajvel, tavsal, patni, vatsal,* and *sal*; the twenty-three inferior were, *avchite, kalinaven, kalebela, kalikudaya, kedal, khochni, churail, teykala, damga, dongre, tambikudaya, navan, bilaval, bela, mudge, varangal, vaksal, valya, shirdi, sanane, sukal, sorti,* and *sonphal*. *Ibid.* p. 425.

husk, coarse rice was first boiled a little and then dried, a process which fine rice does not require.[28]

Nachni,[29]

Eleusine corocana, held the second place with 12.50 per cent of the tillage area, and was sown on hill slopes. The farmer visited the hill lands in April and cut down the trees to be used as manure. They then went home, and returned in May to burn the cut braches and trees, and while, the ashes were still warm, sowed the seed. They were back again in June to cut off the shoots that had sprouted from the roots of the trees that were cut down, and then went home again to return in July to weed. In September another visit was paid to lop off any fresh shoots that might have sprouted from the stumps. Then, after the rice harvest was over, they came back to the hill lands in November and housed their crop.[30] With all this trouble the hill harvest did not yield each man more than three upon twenty-eighths of a ton (one *khandi*) worth about Rs. 4.[31]

Horticultural experiments

In 1867, the Sawantwadi State bought from an English woman the estate of Tamboli four miles southeast of the town of Sawantwadi. In 1878-79 there were about 30,000 coffee plants in it. About half of them were raised from seed brought from Curg. Siberian coffee seed was tried but without success. The cost was more than the proceeds. In 1879, an experiment in coffee tillage was made on the spurs of the Sahyadri. The ground was well suited for coffee. But the want of rain, in all but a few months in the year, formed a great, if not an insurmountable, bar to its successful growth. More than 4,000 plants of Manilla hemp were introduced into the Tamboli estate. It grew abundantly in the Sahyadri during the rainy season. In 1876 a newly invented fibre-cleaning machine was imported; but an attempt at extracting Manilla hemp fibre failed.[32]

The people had since a long time commenced growing good varieties of mango grafts in addition to their coconut plantation. The

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28. *Ibid.*, pp. 424 - 425.
29. There are eight varieties of nachni: kere, kharemuthle, dongre, dudhmogre, pavnephutane, enutle, lhovi, and shendre. Ibid. p. 425.
30. The cultivating of *nachni* during the rainy season on the Sahyadri slopes was called hillbreaking, *dongar todna*. *Nachni* was also sown on the plains in the fair season. This kind of tillage, known as *bhave*, yielded a surplus; but it was very seldom resorted to. *Ibid.*, p. 425.
31. *Ibid.*
32. *Ibid.*

facility, however, of providing suitable manures and of taking care to prevent damage to the trees by insects had been lost sight of. A start had been made in this direction. A start had also been made to procure denatured salt for manuring purpose and the demand for these was increasing. A programme for keeping chemical manures and of getting seedlings of fruit trees from other places for experimental purposes as also distribution had been laid down. It was intended to do propaganda for this purpose through local dailies.[33]

Flooding and drought

There was a drought in 1791-92, which came after the plunder of Sawantwadi by the Kolhapur Maharaja. The scarcity was so great that rice was sold at from two to five *shers* for a *pirkhani* rupee. The Raja of Sawantwadi waylaid rice ships and distributed their cargoes. In 1821-22, a sudden and unusual fall of rain destroyed the grain, and a storm that accompanied it ruined the garden crop. Rice raised to seven pounds the rupee. The Raja opened the State *kothi* and distributed supplies.[34]

Flooding of the land by rapidly filling and overflowing of its mountain streams was a very regular occurrence. But the damage caused by the flooding of the rivers was never on a very large scale. The nearest approach to a drought occurred in 1864 when the rainfall was limited to only 96 inches. Again there was scarcity of hill and garden produce during 1875 and 1876. It was not caused by a deficiency in the rainfall, which was sufficiently heavy till September but did not continue till October. But there was no instance of failure so severe as to call for remissions. In 1877-78, there was a delay in rainfall till the middle of July, which resulted in a short rice harvest. And the shortfall in grain was increased by exports to the Deccan and Southern Maharashtra districts, and by the immigration of people from the famine stricken regions. Locusts, though very rare in Sawantwadi, appeared in some swarms in 1865 and 1879 in eighteen villages close to the Sahyadri and destroyed crops worth about Rs. 6000.[35]

Farmers mainly Mahrattas followed by Bhandaries

There were about 71,000 farmers in Sawantwadi. Of these, there were 53,000 Mahrattas, who, as we already know, were the most

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33. SSR/Rev. Settle. Rep. 1924, p. 8, para 17.
34. Bavdekar in *Bombay Gazetteer, Sawantwadi*, pp. 425-426.
35. *Ibid.*, p. 426.

important cultivating class who were found all over the State. The next important farmers were 10,000 Bhandaries. The Saraswats, roughly estimated at 2,000 persons, were chiefly in Pat, Valaval, Tendoli, Nerur, Pinguli, Jharap and Salgaon. The Bhandaries were mostly in Satarde, Ajgaon and Talavda, the Roman Catholics were in Charatha, Majgaon, Insuli and other Banda villages; the Muslims were in Jharap, Mangaon, Naneli, Kolgaon, Banda and Kudal. There were other castes, such as Vanis, Sutars, Sonars, Devlis, Nhavis, Gosavis and Mhars over almost all the State.[36]

There were the better class of cultivators who lived in one-storied mud houses, with tiled roofs and five or six rooms, in orchards of coconut, jack fruit and mango trees. The poorer peasants lived in two or three rooms in houses, which were thatched with dry grass, and coconut palm leaves plaited or plain. Most of the farmers had clay pots except the Saraswats and a few others who had metal pots. All the farmers held their stock of field tools, a pipe, a bamboo mat, and a cot or two. The farm stock generally consisted of one or two pairs of bullocks or buffaloes, one or two cows, and sometimes half a dozen goats. None of the farmers stored any grain except a few of the richest.[37]

The farmers, as a whole, were sober, orderly and mild. They were thrifty even in wedding expenses, except the richest. They manured their fields by burning grass, stubble and branches. But they were not known as skilled labourers except a few who owned gardens. Their chief tools were a plough, a rake, *data*, and a clod crusher and furrow filler, *guta*. The holdings were much sub-divided. Nearly two-thirds of the farmers were tenants or field labourers. The well-to-do farmers employed hired labour at sowing, transplanting and harvest. The poor farmers lent their bullocks to each other for getting their fields ploughed. They used a local name, *varangula*, for a pair of bullocks one of which was borrowed. The farmers followed fowl rearing in a limited extent.[38]

Almost all the farmers were in debt and generally required grain advances both for sowing and for food. Heavy rents and poor crops were responsible for indebtedness. In small transactions the annual rate of interest varied from eighteen to thirty-six per cent. The grain prices and

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36. *Ibid.*, p. 426.
37. *Ibid.* pp. 426-27.
38. *Ibid.* p. 427.

wages had risen for twenty years from 1860 and so had the value of the land. But there was hardly any change in the life of the farmer. Land was the most popular investment among men of means. Much had changed hands in about 1880 but it was not yielding profits of more than three or four per cent a year.[39]

Increase in agricultural revenue and remission of installment

The first Agricultural Revenue Settlement was made in the State from 1872 to 1885. It was brought into effect for a period of thirty years. But, providing for circumstances, the next Revenue Settlement Report was published by Taylor in May 1922. The inferior nature of the soil in the State, the malarial fever attacking the farmers and the absence of an improved scheme to enhance the farm production were cited for the stagnation of the income of agricultural revenue. Taylor had recommended an increase of six or seven per cent coming to about Rs. 17,043 per year. He had recommended that Rs. 1570 from seventeen villages affected by malaria should not be collected till they were free from malaria. The Report of the Revision Settlement had divided the State into six groups and prescribed the revenues according to the fertility of the soil in each group. It was true that this Revision Settlement Report repeated as unchanged the gradation of land in the first Revenue Settlement Report, although some land in it had become *warkas* because of damage done to it in the meanwhile, and the revenue on such land was collected according to the revenue on the garden land. Taylor had noted that it was the duty of the landlord to get the changed gradation of his land recorded in the State records. But this was not being done because of his ignorance. That the revenue on a superior grade of land had to be paid on an inferior grade of land should have been averted according to the rights of the ryot. But it could not be done because of insufficient information.[40]

Taylor also observed that much of the *bagayat* or orchard land, which had been made barren by the attack of locusts in 1900 and 1904, remained without the revenue being reduced by changing the grade of the land in the records. Although it was difficult to assess the temporary or long-standing effect of the locusts at the time of the attack, yet it was possible to know the definite condition the land would be in after twenty years. The people had the wrong impression that the gradation of land

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39. *Ibid.*

40. *Vainateya*, November 25, 1924, Year 1, No. 5, p. 2.

was not possible to be changed once the Revision Settlement had settled it.[41]

Khem Sawant V had announced by *Extra Ordinary Darbari Gazette* of October 29, 1924 that the May installment of the agricultural revenue to be paid by the ryot, including the one from *Sheri* Thikans, would not be collected by the State. The Raja announced further that the exemption was not given only to the superior land holders but also to the inferior ones and declared according to the Land Revenue Code, Section 84 (A) that the superior holder should give the inferior one half the amount of revenue which would be exempted in his case. And on land on which less than full revenue would have to be paid by him, he had to pay the inferior landholder half the amount of the exemption he had received. In some of the villages the custom was that the amount of revenue was not realized by four equal installments. In such villages, the amount of land revenue to be paid in May should be entered at one-fourth of the total yearly revenue payable. If the superior landholder did not give the exemption that way to the inferior right holder, he would not get concession of revenue exemption also.[42]

There was a complaint of eight villages from Kudal Petha against their revenue being increased by more than 45 per cent. There was a hearing of their petition by the Raja and the Revenue Minister and the petition was referred to the Kamavisdar. The petition pointed out that the agricultural revenue in the whole State was increased by about 10 to 26 per cent. But it has been increased by over 45 per cent in the eight villages of Kudal. Thus, there was an increase of about Rs. 8,500 in the eight villages in the agricultural revenue whereas the increase of about Rs. 30,000 had been made for the entire State in the Revision Settlement. The improvements, which were necessary for such an increase, according to the petition, did not exist in the eight villages. The water supply tanks in several villages, it was said, had been destroyed because of lack of Government help. Taylor had chiefly given the communications with the villages as the reason for the increase. But improvements on a large scale had not been made in the villages and the small improvements, which might have been made, did not help the ryot in increasing the production. The farmers were supposed to pay more if the produce of the village was

41. *Ibid.*

42. Orders by M. D. Rane, Minister, Sawantwadi, dated November 24, 1924, published in *Vainateya*, December 2, 1924, Year 1, No. 6, p. 4.

more than sufficient so that it was sent out. But the product of the villages was not enough for them and they had to bring in more rice from outside. It was not correct to have an idea about the prosperity of a place by the trade statistics or the length of the roads. If the villages were prosperous, then the population would have increased. But the population was decreasing. The reason for the increase in the revenue settlement had been cited as the current increase in the prices of grains. But the agricultural product had not increased to more than necessary to support the farmer and so he was not able to get any benefit of the increase in prices. Although the price of rice had increased to more than 65 per cent, the cost of labour to produce that much has increased to 200 to 250 per cent.[43]

The Raja considered the petition and agreed to reduce the increase of Rupees eight thousand to Rupees seven thousand during the first fifteen years and then to continue it as Rupees eight thousand. This exemption was for the immediate fifteen years and would give the eight villages a reduction of Rupees three thousand and five hundred in the revenue to be paid.[44]

There were complaints about the increase in agricultural revenue from cultivators of the *Sheri* Thikans. The revenue was increased to about four to five times the former revenue and it was felt as being too heavy for the tenants. The *Vainateya* felt that it would not be wrong to consider the difference between the earlier and the present rates of revenue. The rate is twice that of the earlier one. But the State should consider the labour and the money spent by the ryot in increasing the production. The *Sheri* land was given to the tenant on a twenty-five years or permanent agreement. And, it was felt, it would be unjust to levy the revenue according to the present income without taking into consideration the incessant effort and money to bring the land to prosperity.[45]

One hundred and ninety-nine villages in the State were brought under Revenue Settlement. The assessment was enhanced in 102 villages and of these 98 were *khalsa* and four *inam*. The assessment was left undisturbed because of malaria and other conditions in 68 villages of which 66 were *khalsa* and two *inam*. The assessment was enhanced in

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43. *Vainateya*, August 18, 1925, Year 1, No. 43, p. 5.
44. *Vainateya*, September 22, 1925, Year 1, No. 47, p. 2.
45. *Vainateya*, October 6, 1925, Year 1, No. 49, p. 2.

the remaining 29 villages but the recovery was postponed. The Desai of Parma held 24 villages on payment of a fixed sum to the Darbar. In the 98 *khalsa* villages, the Revision Settlement was Rs. 1,96,773 against the previous assessment of Rs. 1,70,458. This gave an increase of Rs. 26,315, an enhancement of 15.4 per cent. In the twenty-nine deferred *khalsa* villages, the settlement was Rs. 51,551 as against Rs. 45,322, with an increase of 13.7 per cent.[46]

Actual land cultivated in 1926-27 and how farmers lived

The area under crop in 1926-27 was 1,31,702 acres. This left 28,522 acres uncultivated from the total area of 1,60,224 acres. The average of cultivated land in the preceding five years was 1,35,182 acres.[47]

The land under *Kumri* cultivation, which produced inferior millets such as Nachni, Harik etc., formed 82 per cent of the total cultivable area. The farmers had to leave the *Kumri* land fallow for four to seven years, thus leaving only 42 per cent of the *Kumri* or *Warkas* area available for growing inferior crops in a year. The land in which superior crops such as paddy, cereals and garden produce were cultivated was only 18 per cent of the total cultivable area. Twenty-five per cent of the farmers had to emigrate to Mumbai, Karachi and other towns in order to support themselves. They worked in cotton mills and remitted monies from their salaries for the remaining members who had remained in the State. The amounts, which were thus received by the so-called money order economy, came to Rs. 8,63,383 in 1926-27. The economic condition of the people was far from satisfactory.[48]

Agricultural Adviser tries reforms

Up to 1924, there was no regular Agricultural Department. A new Department of Agriculture was started in January 1925 to advise the people in agricultural and horticultural development and culture of new economic plants. The Agricultural Adviser was to be in charge of this Department and he was under the control of the Revenue Minister.[49]

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46. Administrative Report, 1925-26, pp. 4 and 5.
47. Administration Report, 1926-27, p. 5.
48. *Ibid.*
49. SSR/R.48/F.48/F.H. 10/ Hist. of Sawantwadi State, No. 2844 of April 20, 1929, p. 107.

Some trees of economic value as cashew, jack and *harda* were found on *warkas* land but no attempt had been made to supplement such trees by artificial generation. Khem Sawant V had met Phatarpekar and visited Phatarpekar's Belgaum Farm and decided to avail of his advice to the people of Sawantwadi. The people had been growing good varieties of mango grafts and were having coconut plantations. But they had lost sight of providing manure for these and preventing insects from damaging the crops. Phatarpekar was brought in to assist the people in this direction as also to improve *kharif, rabi and bagayat* cultivation.[50]

The Agricultural Adviser wrote to Khem Sawant V that he would try and improve the conditions of agriculture and the prospective of side-industries with special reference to the growing of fruit trees, development of farms and introduction of new crops. Leaflets would be published and poultry, dairy and weaving would be introduced. He would find out energetic agriculturists who could undertake experiments in paddy, cotton, cane etc., under his instruction. He would like to assist people to some prospective industries such as cup and saucer making, bangle making, vinegar making from cashew juice, lakh breeding etc. He said that he was making a collection of mineral wealth of the State.[51]

Phatarpekar went to some villages around the town of Sawantwadi and examined several plantations of important people. He found that the coconut palms planted by Shaik Baba, head of the police, were not thriving because of bad soil. At Mazgaon, Kalsulkar, a retired sub-judge, was asked to remove the mud *gadagas* around his grafts which were actually being suffocated. As a preventive against white ants, which seemed to molest all the mango trees and coconut palms, he was instructed to whitewash the stumps of the trees. In the Padgaonkar farm at Madkhol, coconut palms were not thriving as they were not properly manured and looked after. At A. Khan's garden it was found that the chikoo and mango grafts, lemon trees, betel nut palms and plantain trees were not thriving because full sunlight was not made available to them. He was asked to remove the adjacent huge trees.[52]

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50. Administration Report, 1924-25, p. 19.
51. *SSR/R-32/F.575*, letter from S S. Phatarpekar to Secretary, His Highness, No. 199 of January 28, 1925.
52. *Ibid.*, letter of February 4, 1925 from Phatarpekar, Agricultural Adviser.

He was shown the furniture factory where nine to ten carpenters worked every day. He transported the furniture to Mumbai. He showed him good specimens of folding teapoys and also folding chairs.[53]

At Kantak's farm at Sarmale he saw five hundred coconut palms and fifty mango grafts planted. He had planted plantains, which required water. All these required capital at low rates of interest.[54]

Among a number of others he visited, one was Tamboli State Gardens where he found many pineapple, plantain and citrus trees, which required water and good care. In his opinion, the Garden was unique possession of the State possessing a variety of fruit, which could hardly be found in the whole of the Bombay Presidency.[55]

In a report he wrote on the agricultural situation in the State, he, in the first instance, noted that fifty per cent of the farmers did not possess the land. If the farmer without land got a good crop, he was likely to lose the land to a competitor in favour of the *saokar* or landowner. He therefore saw to it that the income was average. This made him more of a fatalist than a shrewd hard-working peasant.[56]

"An average farmer with a single pair of bullocks and two or three family members," he wrote, could "cultivate about three acres of paddy." The system of measurement was the British one in those days. They gave him a gross income of about a hundred rupees, a half of which went clean to the landholder. And if he was fortunate enough not to be a debtor to anybody, which was rarely the case, the remaining Rs. 50 worth of paddy was barely sufficient to maintain him for five or six months. But if he was in debt of, say, Rs. 50, he had to pay an interest from 25 to 40 per cent. As the farmer had no land of his own, he could give any mortgage. The *saokar*, therefore, charged him any percentage of interest, even up to 40 per cent, thus getting his sum repaid within three or four years out of mere "interest" and the man went on feeding fat upon the poor farmer. The Deccan Relief Act only deprived the poor farmer from getting any help from the *saokar*.[57]

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53. *Ibid.*
54. *Ibid.*
55. *Ibid.*
56. *SSR/R-32/F.574*, Report No. 104 dated March 18, 1925 from Agricultural Adviser to Assistant Minister, p. 1.
57. *Ibid.*, pp. 1-2.

The farmer needed money to supplement his maintenance, for buying bullocks and for marriages. He could not maintain his family for a whole year without having some other job. He migrated to Mumbai, or some other place where he could in the course of a few months make sixty or eighty rupees for the expenses.[58]

An interest was being paid for three or four generations of a farmer to the *saokar*. The payee was absolutely ignorant of the exact amount due and on what actual transaction it was taken as loan. It was recommended in the report that the farmers who had paid 25 per cent interest for twenty years and 40 per cent for fifteen should have their loan canceled.[59]

It was also recommended that the present landowners should be allowed to consolidate their holdings rather than having the possession piecemeal in different places. The fallow land, in stead of being sold away to big land-owners and monied proprietors, should all be retained by the State and then leased out on nominal rents or sold away in reasonable bits to the new coming farmers. An express understanding that such land could not be divided by any account and that if it was left uncultivated on account of internal strifes, it would be summarily taken possession of by the State.[60]

It was most important to give information about the ways in which help could be had from the Agricultural Adviser by issuing hand bills and distributing them in the three Pethas and by publishing them in the local newspapers. A notice was published in news weekly by the Agricultural Adviser that he should be contacted by farmers either by post or in person in his office to get free agricultural information. They would get information about different manures and fertilizers and he would get the supply of them for the farmers. They would get free information about iron ploughs and other implements, engines to draw and supply water, oil engines, different kinds of fruit trees and mango grafts. If anyone wanted to start gardens or plantations or to improve those, which were already in existence, he would get free advice after the Agricultural Adviser had personally seen them.[61]

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58. *Ibid.*, pp. 2-3.
59. *Ibid.*, p. 4.
60. *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5.
61. *Vainateya*, March 17, 1925, Year 1, No. 20, p. 2.

He thought it was advisable to find out a few men in each Petha and give them implements, seeds and manures and try experiments on their own lands and demonstrate their success to others. Industries like weaving, bee breeding, poultry, lakh-breeding, vinegar making and sericulture were to be introduced when funds were made available. Soils and herbs were to be collected and got analyzed and agricultural and industrial materials should be collected.[62]

The Agricultural Adviser, in the meanwhile, had been doing important work and had visited 41 *Sheri* Thikans and 68 other farms and 665 persons visited him during the whole year. *Deo-kapus* was found in the compounds of some individuals. This was found to have promise and so seeds had been ordered and distributed. There was a high yielding variety of paddy, which had been successfully cultivated in Karjat, and it was ordered for the farmers in Sawantwadi. So was the seed of tobacco ordered as secondary crop.[63]

A depot for the sale of chemical manure was started. Of fertilizers 4,234 pounds and 1,680 pounds of oil cake were ordered, out of which 659 and 580 were purchased by cultivators. Of denatured salt, 414 maunds were purchased as manure from the British Government Salt Depots at Vengurla and Shiroda.[64]

In the year 1925-26, armyworm pest appeared in some villages. Illustrated pamphlets were published in Marathi giving an idea about the life history of the pest and preventive measures to be taken. The Agricultural Adviser and revenue officials went round the villages to advise the farmers how to act. Rinderpest of a virulent type broke out in some villages and killed the cattle. An attempt was made to inoculate the unaffected cattle but the farmers resented it. Khemraj V *alias* Bapusaheb had to go to the villages to explain fully the advantages of inoculation with the serum. The people were satisfied and the epidemic was checked.[65]

A number of fruit trees were secured from Pune, Bangalore, Ootakamund, Sahranpur, Sri Lanka and Japan and were planted experimentally. Some cultivators were supplied with suckers of other varieties of pineapples from Mumbai and Sri Lanka. These were given free

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62. *SSR/R-32/F.575*, Copy of letter No. 111 dated March 24, 1925 from the Agricultural Adviser to the Minister Saheb.
63. Administration Report, 1925-26, pp. 13-16.
64. *Ibid.*
65. *Ibid.*

of cost, and the State guaranteed them against loss. A pamphlet was printed in Marathi about their cultivation in Queensland, Florida and other countries. A number of cinnamon trees and camphor plants were experimentally planted in different localities in the forest to see if they would prosper there. As an incentive to mango grafting, the Agricultural Adviser was instructed to instruct a few local cultivators to learn the art of side grafting and wedge-grafting on stalks of mango trees.[66]

Two thousand eight hundred and seventy-three pounds of bone meal, superphosphates etc., and 1,560 pounds of oil cake were purchased in 1926-27 for manurial purposes as against 659 and 580 pounds, which were bought the previous year. Only 373 maunds of denatured salt were purchased from British Salt Depots at Shiroda and Vengurla as against 414 pounds last year. Thirty-five *Sheri* thikans and more than 40 private farms were visited by the Agricultural Adviser and instructions were given to the farmers about water lifting, planting fruit trees and manuring. From the paddy breeding stations in British India there were brought about a dozen paddy strains and these were tried on selected farms to note their progress. It was found by the Agricultural Adviser that the Kolamba was better suited to the local circumstances and gave 20 per cent more yield than the local varieties.[67]

The armyworm pest[68]appeared in border area near about Chendwan. It was found that the booklet published a year before had not reached the place. The pest had origin in the British villages of Mhapan and Kochara. Foot and mouth disease appeared in a few villages. The Itinerant Veterinary Officer visited the weekly markets at Banda and Kudal and inspected 9,400 animals finding 24 cases of those, which were affected. The total number treated was 2,527, the principal ones being 85 cases of Anthrax and 1,430 of Foot and Mouth.[69]

Experiments conducted in the horticultural field in trying plants of cinnamon, cloves and others and some fruit plants were not successful. The people were skeptical of the low prices at which they were offered and they could not be induced to introduce them in their lands. A large number of suckers of pineapple were distributed free and about 400 suckers of Mauritius and Kew pineapple were ordered from Sri Lanka and were

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66. *Ibid.*
67. Administration Report, 1926-27, p. 13.
68. Spadoptera mauritia.
69. *Ibid.*

offered for sale. But the farmers were unwilling to try them. They were planted in the State garden at Tambuli. The people were not disinclined to purchase budded citrons and graft mangoes. A small nursery farm was started with a *Tagavi* loan with plans to have 1,000 each of budded *mosambi* and grafted mango farms. The camphor and cinnamon plants, however, were found to be in a thriving condition.[70]

M.N. Rangnekar, a local lawyer, had put in 500 hundred coconut trees, 150 mango grafts, 200 *mosambi* grafts and over 1,000 plantain suckers of different varieties in his fields. He had about an acre of sugar cane on the advice of the Agricultural Adviser and that had made a splendid growth. He had put up a *bund* on a river, which stored up water during summer. He irrigated the land by an oil engine and pump set to stimulate the people to make similar arrangements for horticulture.[71]

The country was very suitable for the growth of coconuts and *supari* but the initial outlay had to be made for a period of seven to eight years. It was proposed to introduce an interculture of Robusta or Wild Congo Coffee in the new coconut plantations. As the coffee yielded product up to 10 years, it was considered to be far more abundant and paying. The seeds were ordered but were damaged in transit and so fresh seeds were ordered.[72]

A plot of land at Mhadal Bhatlem was taken up for development and plantation by the Agricultural Department. It was called Mhadal Bhatlem Model Farm. It was developed into a model farm to show the best methods of agricultural operations and systematic plantation of fruit trees, both local and those brought from outside.[73] Almost all improved methods were tried and remedies to overcome practical difficulties were found out. Manuring and other cultural treatments on local economic crops like coconuts, pineapple, bananas, paddy, mango grafts etc., were tried out.[74] About five hundred persons visited the farm in 1933-34 with inquiries in connection with agricultural operations.[75] The Mhadal Bhatlem Model Farm continued its activity from year to year.

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70. *Ibid.*, pp. 13-14.
71. *Ibid.*
72. *Ibid.*
73. Administration Report, 1930-31, p. 13.
74. Administration Report, 1931-32, p. 13.
75. Administration Report, 1933-34, p. 15.

The farmers were informed in 1928 that for using as manure arrangements had been made to make denatured salt available at Vengurla or Shiroda at annas 13 for a Bengali Mann, which was equal to 80 pounds.[76] In an advertisement it was announced by the Deputy Director of Agriculture, Konkan, that since the Government had made profits at the rates charged, they had fixed the rate of annas 10 and would refund the excess amount to the buyer.[77]

It was announced by the Agricultural Adviser that the State Government would stock the manures at Yogasari, Banda and Kudal and supply free of cost the manure that would be enough for fifty to hundred plants. He had given the names of manures for use in sugar cane, potatoes, mangoes, plantains, tobacco, coconut, areca nut, various fruit trees, onions, rice, vegetables and tomatoes.[78]

Farmyard manure was the best manure for plant life. One should know how to prepare the manure pit, the chemical action, which takes place in it and the proportion of it, which is required by the different crops. Demonstration pits were started at six towns and villages and agriculturists were invited to observe them. They were quite satisfied with the excellent quality and the large quantity of the manure obtained by this new method.[79]

Besides Ammo-phos manure, 500 maunds of denatured salt were supplied to agriculturists and horticulturists. Depots were opened at Sawantwadi, Aronda, Math, Nerur and Banda. The proper method for preparation of farmyard manure was being explained to the farmers who were realizing its importance.[80]

Information was also given about oil cakes, bone meal, fish manure, denatured salt and chemical fertilizers like Ammo-phos. They were procured for such agriculturists as desired to have them on payment of costs.[81]

To help the agriculturists to increase their earnings, it was tried to introduce better seeds and better methods. One thousand six hundred and

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76. *Vainateya*, August 28, 1928, Year 4, No. 44, p. 7.
77. *Vainateya*, November 13, 1928, Year 5, No. 2, p. 2.
78. *Vainateya*, November 6, 1928, Year 5, No. 1, p. 5.
79. Administration Report, 1930-31, p. 13.
80. Administration Report, 1931-32, p. 13.
81. Administration Report, 1935-36, p. 22.

sixty seers of the seed was distributed in 1930-31 free of cost.[82] About 1,400 seers of Koluba seeds of different numbers were distributed to sixty-two persons in the State. Intensive cultivation of this variety of paddy was undertaken at Nerur. The experiments at Mhadal Bhatlem Model Farm continued.[83]

Pineapple suckers were distributed for five from 1925 and they had created an interest in the improved varieties such as Kew and Mauritius The demand for the seed suckers and slips increased day by day and it was found difficult to satisfy their needs by ordering them from outside. It was therefore proposed to prepare a fairly big nursery plot. For being planted at Mhadal Bhatlem, seven hundred pineapple suckers were ordered from Sri Lanka.[84] In the year 1933-34, two thousand suckers of Kew variety of pineapples were imported from Sri Lanka and the resultant suckers were kept ready for distribution to enterprising cultivators. Different varieties of bananas were planted in order to shade the pineapples and to get a side crop for sale.[85]

There was no money-earning exportable crop except coconuts, the surplus of which could be exported. The only other export was cashew nuts, graft mangoes and *kokum.* Some *ukda* rice was exported to Goa where they could get a good price for it.[86] All export to Goa had been stopped in 1935-36 because of heavy duty put up by the Government there. In order to help agriculturists to increase their earnings, the Government could try to introduce better seed and better methods. They had been encouraging fresh plantations of coconuts, graft mangoes, pineapples and oranges.[87]

The Census of 1931 showed that the population of the State had increased to 2,30,589. And the area of cultivable land was 1,53,822 hectares, which gave roughly 0.67 hectare of cultivable land per head, which was obviously too little. The salvation of people lay, as the Government concluded, in (1) increasing the production of coconuts, mangoes and other fruit, (2) bringing more land in malarious area under cultivation, (3) starting as many side industries as possible, and (4)

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82. Administration Report, 1930-31, p. 13.
83. Administration Report, 1935-36, p. 21.
84. Administration Report, 1930-31, pp. 13-14.
85. Administration Report, 1933-34, p. 15.
86. Administration Report, 1931-32, p. 13.
87. Administration Report, 1935-36, p. 21.

producing articles which were then imported but which could be grown in the State.[88]

Chillies were grown in two plots of equal area selected in nine villages. One was according to the old method and the other according to the improved method. The outturn by improved methods was nearly three times that of the other.[89]

The Veterinary office examined 1,140 cattle in the year 1935-36. They detected 18 cases of foot and mouth disease. There were 2,238 cases treated during the tour to the various places during the year. The principal ones being 788 of foot and mouth disease, 531 of sprains, tumors, inflammation, wounds etc., 474 of foot diseases, 202 of Rinderpest, 59 of Anthrax, 44 of ear diseases, 36 of digestive disorder and 30 of goat diseases.[90] Khem Sawant V had given fifteen heads of cattle from his *khasgi* for distribution for cattle breeding.[91]

It was started to teach spinning and weaving by knowledgeable persons to people in the villages. The total number of people of both the sexes who were taught was 230. The number of handlooms that were working was 76 and they turned out ordinary cloth such as *panchas, khadi* etc. The Bombay Cooperative Societies Act of 1925 was introduced in the State in 1930 and a number of societies were started in the subsequent years.[92] There were in all sixteen societies working in Sawantwadi State. The bylaws of the Central Cooperative Institute were amended so as to include the spreading of the cooperative movement, starting new societies, holding agricultural exhibitions, improving the condition of the agriculturists by supplying them with better seed and encouraging them to use improved instruments and manures, attending to the works of consolidation of small holdings in order to improve agriculture, organizing village panchayats and attending to village uplift work. Propaganda was done by means of magic lantern lectures and conversations in forty-four villages in the State. The total number of such societies was 1,554.[93]

One of the important societies of this kind was Bande Sahakari Sheti Sangh, which had ten members with a share of Rs. 400. Each of

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88. Administration Report, 1931-32, p. 13.
89. Administration Report, 1930-31, p. 13.
90. Administration Report, 1935-36, p. 23.
91. Administration Report, 1930-31, p. 14.
92. *Ibid.*
93. Administration Report, 1935-36, p. 23.

them had spent Rs. 200 to make arrangement for irrigating his field. In addition to the capital of Rs. 4,000, they had taken from the Government a *Tagai* loan at six and a quarter rate of interest per annum. They had with that Rs. 6,000. They made arrangements to fix an oil engine pump and an engine to un-husk the rice. In addition to that, the society had built a road of one and a half mile from Banda to the plantations. They had been able to provide enough water to about sixty-one hectares of land. They had enough water to provide the needs of some thirty of their neighbours charging them at a reasonable rate. There were five thousand coconuts in the gardens at that time besides a large scope for more. The irrigation was being used for cultivation of chilies and sugar cane.[94]

Forest

Sawantwadi State was the only territory blessed with forest resources among Kolhapur State, Portuguese Goa and Ratnagiri district except for a small forested patch in Dapoli, 1,036 hectares in extent. The forest in Sawantwadi extended over 20,020.7 hectares. "Roughly it is about 300 square miles or one-third of the whole state. Revenue-yielding trees grow on the slopes and along the base of the Sahyadri range and many isolated hills lying between the Sahyadri and the sea."[95] It provided the State and the people with valuable timber for the navy, commercial ships, building construction and furniture. All teak, khair and black wood were considered as the property of the state.

It was for the British administration to reserve the right to the trees on private lands and forest to the State as it had done in its territory to itself. It was done under the great principle which was recognized by the courts of British India that the rights to trees follows the rights to property in the soil. Where it could be shown that the land was the property of the government, the inference could be drawn that, in the absence of any other circumstance which creates a proprietary right in the trees in the land-holder, the trees belong to the government. In a case it was said that the trees were timber trees growing on government land, and the proprietary right to the trees was derived from the property in the land.[96] It was held by the Privy Council that if the *sanads* did not contain the words

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94. *Vainateya*, March 5, 1929, Year 5, No. 18, p. 4.
95. Bombay Gazetteer, Sawantwadi, p. 404.
96. Govind Purshotam v. the Sub-Collector and Deputy Collector of Forests, Kolaba, Couch, C.J., 1869.

common in Marathi sanads when the property in the soil was granted with *jal, taru, tran, pashan, nidhi, nikshep*, that is, water, trees, grass, wood, stone and buried and concealed treasure, then the *sanad* did not confer these rights. As such, the *sanad* conferred only a right to revenues of the village and not the right to the timber growing on the soil. It was also decided that the proprietorship of wastelands belongs to the government. It was held that the felling of trees was universally prohibited.[97] The right of cultivators to take *rab* from *warkas* lands for manuring their rice fields was recognized. The people were prohibited from felling trees of certain specified descriptions, although permitted, as a favour, to cut common wood for domestic use but not for trading purposes.[98] Forest Survey was made in the years 1871 to 1877. The demarcation and measurement of the Forest Reserves in the State was made. It was found that the Gaonkars for Kumri cultivation claimed all the land fit for forest purposes on the lower slopes of the Ghats on the adjoining low ranges of hills. In many villages the jungles near the ghats were still very dense and contained large quantities of *Ain, Kinjal, Nana* and other useful trees. But *Kumri* cultivation had extended so much in that portion of the State that in a few years there would be nothing left but a scrub jungle. There was indeed a great deal of land on the ghats, which had never been used by the people for cultivation.[99] These and several hindrances were more or less settled and the area of the Forest was demarcated.

Forest Act VII of 1878 was therefore promulgated in the State and Act V of 1890 later amended it. The rules like Forest Offences, Forest Rules, Rules regarding Transport of Timber and other forest product, Forest Account Code, Fraudulent Sale of Timber and Forest Grazing were framed. One head officer, two deputies, one clerk, twelve rangers and four *nakedars* were organized to put a stop to underhand wood-cutting and for better protection and improvement of the forests. The forest was organized by making coups area wise that were numbered. And arrangements were made to auction wood in the forest and to plant new trees. For the first five years ending with 1878-79, the State received an income between Rs. 3,280 and Rs. 8,010 per year with Rs. 1,000 or so for the charges. The

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97. Vaman Janardhan Joshi v. the Collector of Thana and the Conservator of Forests, Melvill J., with Gibbs J.

98. Bombay Government Resolution No. 6646 of November 27, 1875.

99. *SSR/R 41/Forest Survey 1871 77 S2*, Vol. I, No. 239 of April 21, 1877, from J. Gibson, Deputy Superintendent, Ratnagiri Revenue Survey to Col. J.F. Lester, Political Superintendent, Sawantwadi.

timbre was sent from Vengurla by sea to Mumbai, or carried in carts by Amboli ghat to Belgaum and other inland districts.[100]

In the following years, the Forest Officer arranged for the various auctions of timbre belonging to various coupes and the contract to graze the cattle or cut and take away the grass from defined areas in the forest.[101] He also arranged to plant the trees and took care to conserve the forest. Ryots were given timber for building, wood for burning and agricultural implements from the forest.[102] But when a great fire affects any part of Government Forest, the *ganvwalle* or villagers, when given notice, should all together arrange to protect the jungle. One who neglects to obey the government order would be liable to punishment.[103]

Protection of animals of the forest

Rules were framed that in the forest certain animals were forbidden to be hunted.[104] The same circular confirmed that on Narendra Hills and in six miles radius no *sambar (shingada, maya)* kind of animals should be hunted without permission of the Political Agent. In another circular it was announced that the people had liberty to kill tiger, bear, panthers etc., and that it was not necessary to obtain permission to hunt such animals or to inform the government. But, the circular said, that according to the rules, the presentation of the skin would get the award.[105] If anyone brought poisonous snakes, which had teeth in the upper half to the Kamavisdar or the town Kotwal, he would be rewarded. If a cobra was killed, he would be paid two annas and other poisonous snakes one-half of an anna.[106]

It was forbidden to destroy, trap, posses or sell during its breeding season Painted snipe, Quail grey, Quail rain, Quail painted, Pea fowl, Jungle fowl grey or Spine fowl and Wild duck and Bison, Sambhar, Chital, Bhekri, Four horned deer, Pisai or Hare. No one should shoot, trap or

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100. Bombay Gazetteer, Sawantwadi, pp. 404-405.
101. *SSR/R 20/Savantvadi Durbari Gazette*, 1902-1903, Vol. 14, No. 5, April 30, 1902, p. 3; No. 12, June 18, 1902, p. 3; No. 16, July 16, 1902, pp. 2-3; No. 21, August 20, 1902, p. 2; No. 23, September 3, 1902, p. 5 etc.
102. *SSR/R 52/No. 882/Savantvadi Durbari Gazette*, 1909-1910, Vol. XXI, No. 2, April 1, 1909, pp. 8 and 9.
103. *SSR/R 12/Savantvadi Durbari Gazette*, 1915-1916, Vol. XXVII, No. 10, May 9, 1915, p. 53.
104. *SSR/R 20/Savantvadi Durbari Gazette*, 1902-1903, Vol. 14, No. 30, October 22, 1902, p. 2. Rule No. 255 of March 20, 1893.
105. *SSR/R 20/Savantvadi Durbari Gazette*, 1893-94, Vol. 3, No. 14, August 2, 1893, p.2.
106. *Ibid.*, No. 15, August 9, 1893, p. 2.

otherwise take the female of bison, Sambhar, Chital, Bhekra or four horned deer at any time.[107]

The acts which were absolutely prohibited in all Reserved and Protected Forests were: (1) the poisoning of rivers or other waters, and the explosion of dynamite in them for the purpose of killing or catching fish, (2) the setting of spring guns, (3) the taking, wounding or killing of big game, other than tiger, panther, hyena, wild dog, pig or bear over water or salt-licks, (4) wounding or killing the females of deer, antelope or bison, (5) wounding or killing any game birds or hares during the close season fixed. These were for the purpose of strict conservation or preservation of animals, which were becoming rare.[108]

When Khem Sawant V took over the rulership of the land, he began to make a careful supervision of the forest in order to nurse it to yield growing revenue to the budget. In the year 1924-25, 12,600 natural teak seedlings were transplanted in coupes and forest blanks. One hundred and fifty thousand and two hundred and fifty teak plants which were reared in forest nurseries were transplanted in forest and exploited areas. Out of these, one hundred and forty-nine thousand and eight hundred were led out under *kumri*-cum-forestry and thirteen thousand and fifty by beat guards. Nineteen seers of sandal wood seed were dibbled in three ranges. Seed enough to produce two hundred thousand of teak plants were sown in eleven of the village nurseries. The total receipts of Forest during that year was Rupees sixty-six thousand and eighty as against sixty thousand five hundred and forty-nine. The expenditure was thirty thousand and ninety-six as against twenty-six thousand two hundred and twenty-four in the previous year.[109]

There was an agreement signed between the Darbar and Sawant-wadi Timber Felling and Sawmill Co. at Kolgaon, which was owned by Bell, an Englishman who had retired from the Forest department of the Bombay Presidency. The agreement was of January 31, 1923 for exploitation of ten sets of successive coupes in the existing working plan rotation. They had to do the felling and remove the timber, firewood and other materials and thus to finish clear-filling in ten sets of coupes by

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107. *SSR/R 52/No. 882/ Savantvadi Durbari Gazette*, 1909-1910, Vol. XXII, No. 4, April 27, 1910, pp. 17-18.

108. *SSR/R 52/No. 883/Savantvadi Durbari Gazette*, 1910-1911 Vol. XXIII, No. 54, November 6, 1911, pp. 303-04.

109. Administration Report, 1924-25, p. 19.

1931-32. They had to make payments in full at the end of first year and had to deposit Rupees Five thousand and two hundred to the Sawantwadi State Treasury as security for the performance of the agreements. They did the work but failed to make a full payment. The Company appealed to the Political Agent who made a concession to them. But the Company failed to make a payment again. The deposit of Rupees five thousand and two hundred was taken by the State and the balance of Rupees seven thousand five hundred and forty-three was still due from the Company.[110]

It was a new enterprise and no local contractors had been able to accomplish the task. Because of the prevalence of malaria, they were handicapped in the free supply of local labour or imported labour. The want of forest roads created difficulties in transporting felled and sawn timber to places of market. There was a great slump in the trade and local merchants were not able to dispose of the stock in hand. The Company lost credit in the market. Khem Sawant V had to order that the material of some coupes be forfeited to the State and the Company should produce two solvent sureties approved by the Darbar of Rupees five thousand each. And the Company should pay all the arrears with interest at seven and half per cent. These concessions were granted on condition that the Company surrenders the set of coupes No. 25, Mangaon, Kunkeri, Pandur and Anao from their contract.[111]

Forest industries

Lac on Tambet grass was found to be an exceptional kind and of no economic value. The Jambha trees[112] are found to be excellent hosts for inoculation and propagation of lac. Heavy incrustation of lac on such trees in the *Kumbla* area of Medha at the foot of the Ram Ghat has been discovered. The local cultivators cultivate the lac growing for a long time. Arrangements have been made to procure sufficient quantity of brood lac from Bhandara and Gujarat to start inoculation on the jambha, kusum and other trees that abound in local forest. A pamphlet on lac culture in Marathi for the people was published.[113]

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110. *SSR/R 38/F. 664/*Correspondence re. contract between Darbar and Sawantwadi Timber Felling and Saw Mill Co. Memo of July 14, 1925 by Ministry of Revenue and Political Affairs.
111. *Ibid.*
112. Kylia Dolariformis.
113. Administrative Report, 1925-26, pp. 15-18.

Plantation

In the year 1926-27, 27,300 natural teak seedlings were transplanted in coupes and forest blanks. In the same year, 93,675 teak plants, which were reared in teak nurseries, were also transplanted in forest area. Similarly 28 seers of sandalwood seeds were dribbled partly in the forest and the remaining was distributed among private owners of land. Kaju and Palas plants were planted and two *kudos* of Hirda seeds were dribbled out of which 30 seeds germinated. Plantation of Casurina trees was undertaken as the tree was found to be an excellent host of sandalwood trees besides producing excellent fuel and fairly good timber.[114] Such plantings were made each year and Khem Sawant V traveled to various coups to see that the planted seedlings had thrived.[115]

Shooting Reserves for Royal Family and guests

There was hardly any sanctuary of sufficient extent in the State where game could be protected. But there were two places in the reserved forests where game had been protected for the Royal family. One was at Amboli with about 5345 acres. The other was at the foot of and on the slopes of the Sahyadri on the Ramghat side with an area of about 2313 acres. The kind of game sheltered in these areas is bison, Sambar, Chital, wild goat, wild dogs, tiger, panther, Pisai, hare, bear and boar, wildfowls and birds.[116]

The Reserved and Protected Forest was 54 square miles in area. Hunting and shooting in it was controlled by rules made under the Indian Forest Act. Small game, except snipe and whistling teal, was scarce. The game birds sheltered were junglefowl, spurfowl, Rain-quail, Bush-quail, green and imperial pigeon. Among animals, there were bear, barking and mouse deer. Cheetal was found in very small numbers but they were not found in 1928.[117]

Holmes Report on various irregularities in forest administration

After about a year and a half of Rani Parvatibai's Regency, the report of H.C. Holmes, Deputy Conservator of Forests, Belgaum, had been

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114. Administration Report, 1926-27, pp. 15-17.

115. *SSR/R 32/F.535/*, Invoice No. 766 of February 16, 1924 and 38 of January 10, 1925.

116. *SSR/R 48/F.M-2, 827/* Miscellaneous Correspondence 1914-34, letter No. 261 of November 9, 1928 from Chief Forest Officer to Minister for Revenue and Political Affairs.

117. *Ibid.*, letter No. P-196 of December 20, 1928 from Minister for Revenue and Political Affairs to the Political Agent, Sawantwadi.

received according to the job he had been assigned by the State. He pointed out various irregularities both administrative and silvicultural allowed with the cognizance of the Chief Forest Officer. He calls them deviations from Working Plan, which he has permitted when they should have the sanction of the Regent. Some 64 trees had been felled in a coupe because of an absence of proper checking. Contract terms had been broken in the case of every cut coupe under the Plan and yet there was no report in writing. About 16,000 seeds were said to have been put in a coupe. But the result was practically worthless.[118] The Report said that the Ranger and Forester, Mameri seemed most ignorant of his duties. The Chief Forest Officer did not perform his duties conscientiously. He has permitted the contract terms to be broken, without taking any action. This is gross neglect of duty. He is of little value to the State.[119] The Range Forest Officer told him that he has not even read the Working Plan. He found that both the Chief Forest Officer and the Range Forest Officer had only the vaguest ideas as to how the Forest was organized in Circles and Coupes.[120] As regards the revenue, he said, if the Plan was worked properly, the theoretical Revenue should be in the neighbourhood of Rs. 450,000.[121] The result of all this report was that the Chief Forest Officer was replaced in 1941.[122]

Several reforms were introduced, regulations under the law were made, rules about the cattle grazing were framed and the Working Plan began to be followed in the administration of the Forest. The income from the Forest was about Rs. 50,000 in 1941-42. But in 1942-43, it had increased to about Rs. 112,000.[123]

Commerce in truncated State of Sawantwadi

Sawantwadi was no longer the same as before the treaty of 1819 and the Agreements of 1838. The East India Company had taken the port of Vengurla, the commercial and military road of Ramghat and the sea as well as the land customs of the State. The taking away of this territory, road and sea and land customs converted the Tal Konkan from a maritime

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118. *SSR/R 32/F.544/*No. 145 of February 10, 1938, Secretary to Regent to Diwan. Report of H.C. Holmes, Deputy Conservator of Forest, Belgaum. pp. 1,2,3 and 6.
119. *Ibid.*, pp. 11 and 12.
120. *Ibid.*, p. 16.
121. *Ibid.*, p. 25.
122. *SSR/R 32/F.545/*No. C/61 of October 10, 1941 from Diwan to Secretary, Regent.
123. *Vainateya*, August 3, 1943, Year 19, No. 36, p. 2.

country into one that was landlocked. It was true that with the Portuguese taking over Goa from the Adilshah, the trade and commerce of Sawantwadi was to some extent affected. The trade was hit by the competition of the East India Company in the second half of the eighteenth century till they destroyed the Indian monopoly in cotton textile in West Asia. But the import and export of British goods through Sawantwadi left a large margin of income to the State. But the British took this opportunity away when they truncated the territory and the commercial powers of the State. The commerce to exploit the necessities of the people of the State and export of their agricultural and horticultural products was the only activity, which remained.

The communication of these people with the Deccan we have discussed in the relevant earlier chapters. It is now necessary to look at the road system with the coming of the British. The Ramghat road, running southeast and crossing Banda and Bhedshi, is seventy-nine kilometres from Vengurla to the top of the Sahyadri. The repair of this road, with a general breadth of thirty feet, was finished in 1821. In 1826 it was a great highway to the Deccan from Sawantwadi, Vengurla and Malwan. The ascent was fit for every kind of wheeled carriage. The tract of country below was wild, hilly and covered with large trees, clumps of bamboos and thick underwood with partial cultivation in the valleys.[124] Steep and crossed by several streams, unabridged and unfordable during the rainy season, this road was very difficult. From Belgaum, a road ran west for about 40 kilometres, and passing through Sinoli, Turakwadi and Kalanandigad, it reached Ramghat.[125]

Another main pass was known as Parpolighat, Parpoli being the name of the village at the bottom from which it started. It climbed to Amboli, a village that is now known as a hill station. Several zigzags made the passage very difficult for carts. On November 1, 1869, the new road was opened between Vengurla and Sawantwadi to Amboli and Belgaum. The Ambolighat was actually made from Danoli, a distance of about 16 kilometres. The whole road from Sawantwadi to Belgaum is 115 kilometres long. The road was metalled with trap. In the nineteen kilometres from Akeri to Danoli, there were five iron girder bridges built of blackstone and limestone. The ghat, with a gradient of one in twenty-eight, rose at the

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124. Clune's Itinerary, p. 142, as given in Bombay Gazetteer, Sawantwadi, p. 433.

125. Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Vol. XXI, Belgaum, (Hereafter Bombay Gazetteer, Belgaum), p. 302.

crest to a height of 580 metres. Parapet walls, mounds of earth, and earth-backed laterite walls protected the roadway from top to bottom. The Amboli ghat was found to be very convenient for carrying traffic in more or less twenty covered carts that traveled to and fro at night. This time was chosen for the comfort of the bullocks. And most of the officers traveled in their carriages or went on their horses or bicycles. Of the five minor mountain routes the Talkat and Mangeli were little used. The Ghotga, Rangna or Prasidhagad, and Hanmant had been improved and had considerable pack-bullock traffic.[126]

The sea traffic was also available through boats, ships and steamers from Vengurla to various ports along the western coast and up to Mumbai and Karachi. This was the cheapest traffic available for exporting agricultural, horticultural and forest goods to various places. The imports were also made from Mumbai of the goods necessary for the people.

There were also a number of unmetalled roads, which formed lines of communication with towns and villages. There were, for instance, the roads from Sawantwadi to Banda, from Sawantwadi to Kudal, from Kudal via Phondaghat to Kolhapur and into the Deccan, and many other roads connecting all principal towns. A road was made between Amboli and Chowkul and further on to Ramghat, a distance of 22 kilometres.[127]

Place known for small commerce

Sawantwadi was known as a place of small trade, which was for the consumers of a State who supported the limited income of agriculture, horticulture and forest with the income they got from jobs in Bombay, Karachi and the various places of employment. The local exports were coconuts, flax, betel nut, myrobalans, coconut fibre, cashew nuts, black pepper, *kokam*, and a little coffee.[128]

The imports are metals and British piece goods from Mumbai; sugar, dates, spices of all kinds, salt-fish and coconut oil from the coast; wheat, millet, Indian millet, *tur, mug, udid*, molasses, garlic, onions, tobacco, snuff, opium, cotton, indigo, and all kinds of Indian cloth from the Deccan; and fruit, paper, poultry, and candles from Goa.[129]

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126. Bombay Gazetteer, Sawantwadi, p. 434.
127. *Ibid.*
128. *Ibid.*, p. 436.
129. *Ibid.*, p.437.

The chief trade was with Belgaum, Mumbai by Vengurla, Chiplun and Goa. The agencies for distributing imports and gathering exports could be classified under five heads: local trade centres, fairs, markets, village shopkeepers and traveling carriers.[130]

The chief trade centres were Belgaum, Bail-Hongal in Sampgaon, Nandgad in Khanapur, Nipani and Sankeshwar in Chikodi, Gokak, and Athni. The Belgaum merchants bought many European articles from Mumbai by Vengurla in the fair season and from Pune during the rains. They were sold to petty dealers and to consumers. The chief exports were made of grain, rice, wheat, gram, *jowar*, and pulse, and of cloth, *dhotars*, *sadis* and women's clothes. Grain was bought by grain merchants from petty corn dealers and growers and sent to the merchants of Sawantwadi. The *dhotis* and *sadis* were bought by cloth merchants from local weavers and were sold to Sawantwadi merchants. Similarly the Sawantwadi merchants bought from Bail-Hongal the *sadis, cholkhans* or bodice cloth, waist cloth and head scarfs, and betel nuts, and molasses. Some goods were found in Nandgad, Nipani, Sankeshwar, Gokak and Athni. These and goods were bought by Sawantwadi traders and were carried by them on pack bullocks and ponies.[131] Caravans of Lamanies brought the bulk of gram and wheat from the Southern Mahratta Country on pack bullocks. In 1868 the bullock traffic down the Parpolighat was about 96,000, as calculated by the toll gathered from each bullock.[132]

There were merchants who had their shops in the market situated on the elevation of the road that connected the Moti Talao and the royal cremation ground. In 1880 was built the Raghunath Market where vegetables, fruit, flowers, fuel wood, articles made out of bamboos and coconut palms and pottery were sold by men and women who had come with their goods and ware from distant villages. They were able to buy whatever they needed from the shops selling foodstuffs, clothes and ornaments. The festivals, and most of all, the months for stocking the provisions for the rainy season were the busiest days for buying. The more important market was that of fish and mutton, that is mostly goat's meat.

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130. Bombay Gazetteer, Belgaum, p. 312.

131. *Ibid.*, pp. 312-14.

132. Bombay Gazetteer, Sawantwadi, p. 436

Cottage industries and motor transport

The town of Sawantwadi was well known for the manufacture of fancy articles, such as embroidered or simple caskets, fans, and baskets of *khaskhas* grass, horn work, lacquered toys and furniture, playing cards or *ganjiphas*, and smoking hubble-bubbles or *gudgudis*. In about the time the British took over the power of ruling over the State, there were men of the Jingar caste who worked as saddlers, sheath-makers and arm-polishers. The articles are tastefully ornamented with gold or silver thread, spangles, talc, green beetles' wings, satin, velvet and peacock's feathers. Horn work was used for dropping water over idols or for keeping gunpowder. About thirty-five different articles were prepared for sale. The making of lacquered toys and furniture was done by the Chitari caste. Low wooden stools or *pats* and cradles or *palnas* were manufactured in large numbers. *Hed*[133] and jackwood were usually used in making these articles were found in abundance in Sawantwadi. The lac and colouring stuff was brought from Mumbai. They also manufactured the round playing cards, or ganjiphas. These were of two kinds, *hukumi* or *changkanchani*, with ninety-six and *dashavtari* with 120 cards. Smoking hubble-bubbles, or *gudgudis*, consist of four parts. The coconut shell, *bela*, was polished and ornamented sometimes with silver. The standing tube, *meru*, and the pipe, *nali*, were made of wood and showed considerable skill. The fourth part was the tobacco bowl, *chilim.*[134]

When the bicycle began to be used in Sawantwadi at the end of the nineteenth century, agencies were started for getting new bicycles and their spare parts. The Union Cycle Company was started in Sawantwadi that was converted into The Union Cycle and Motor Agency Sawantwadi when the motorcars started being used in the early twentieth century. The proprietor of it was M.M. Shah Rajguru or Mian Saheb. The Company started some services between Sawantwadi and Belgaum and later on other places. The matchbox cars carried only eight to twelve passengers with the front seat being reserved for a government officer or some important person. A few lorries of one ton or half a ton were started to carry goods. A company was started by Keshav Bhat to carry passengers and goods and took over an agency of selling cars. C.D. Saldhana started a service by owning a few passenger lorries. The whole motor industry

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133. Adina cordifolia.

134. Bombay Gazetteer, Sawantwadi, pp. 437-38.

increased gradually till the end of World War II. There was an increase in the number of cars owned by successful merchants and professionals in addition to those owned by the Raja.

The only business started by Pokle was the one with domestic manufacture of *vidis* or cigarettes made of *kuda* leaves. The material consisting of *kuda* leaves, tobacco and thread was given to mostly needy women who manufactured the *vidis* that, after checking them by the supervisor, were tied together in bundles, labelled and supplied to retailers. The supplies to Mumbai had reached Rupees three lakh a year.

Attempts were made to exploit the demand for lacquered ware manufacture in Sawantwadi. Before 1925, five firms had started the work of making pen-racks, pin cushions, paper cases, rulers and others in addition to the traditional items of toys, fruits, furniture including cradles, *devaras* or the altars to keep and worship the Gods in the house, *ganjipha* cards, the footwear or *khadavs* to be worn in house and others. One of these firms, Sawantwadi Wooden Equipment Co. Ltd., whose Agent were Apte Sons & Co., has been started as a Joint Stock Company. They had band saw, wood planing and mortising machinery and had been approved as suppliers by the Bombay Government. They had a sufficient supply of lac and had discovered suitable timber from the local forest.[135]

A number of attempts were made under the leadership of Khem Sawant V to discover some exploiter of the known mineral resources in the State. There was an effort made to start a hydroelectric company in collaboration with the neighbouring territories. Efforts had been made in starting handloom industries to give the farmers a side-industry in their half yearly spare time. Some attempts were made to discover new products in the forest. Attempts were also made to develop Aronda, the only port on the bank of Terekhol left in the hands of the State, by bringing in steamers. But all these attempts had proved to be useless in that time.

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135. Administration Report, 1924-25, p. 21.

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HISTORY OF SAWANTWADI FROM 1800 TO 1948

Thesis submitted for awarding the degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY (ARTS) in HISTORY,
University of Mumbai

by

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7849

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Chapter 12

AGRICULTURE, HORTICULTURE, FOREST, COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY

Agriculture, horticulture, forest and overseas trading

OGILBY WROTE IN 1670 that the "rustics" of the Konkan maintained themselves with sowings of rice and fishing. On these they lived very poorly. They inhabited near the seashore and the banks of rivers for the coconut trees grew conveniently in these areas.[1] He described the common run of people he could meet in places he visited. But there were people all over the cultivated area who owned large and small pieces of land which they tilled, the coconuts which gave them food, drink and shelter, the vegetables and fruit which enriched their living and the fish from the sea and rivers which gave them nourishment. The soil was not rich for yields but the people on the whole had a square meal.

But the people engaged in dealing with pepper, as Ogilby noticed, which was imported from Karnatak and exported to Persia and Europe, and, as we know, to the Arabian Gulf and the Red Sea ports. They sent it to Surat also. "They deal likewise in all sorts of provisions," he says, "for, this country is the storehouse for all its neighbours. The inhabitants also drive a great trade in calico, and another sort of cloth called beirames, which, being brought by land from Hindostan, Golkonda, and Coromandel, is sold to great advantage." There were goods brought by Vanjaries, especially corn and provisions, who transported them over the whole country of Hindusthan and the Deccan. They brought with them *kafilas* consisting of three, four, and sometimes eight or ten thousand bullocks carrying bags full of provisions on both their sides. They were accompanied with women and children, which follow them like an army.[2]

This was an important part of the economy and all villages on the trade routes had to protect the merchants by providing watchmen. The forts on their way were garrisoned for the protection of the trade. So did sailors man the navy and the forts along the seacoast maintained for protection of the external trade. There were a large number of people to man the trade and shipping. This vital part of the economy depended on

1. Ogilby's *Atlas,* Part V, p. 249.
2. *Ibid.*

the ports and trade routes across the Sahyadri, which were taken off their control by the British. The economy of Sawantwadi State in the nineteenth century was deprived of the basic commodity of cotton textiles, which they could get from across the mountains. They were deprived of land and sea customs, which the British had taken under their own administration. There were no ports under their control as they were taken over by the British. The people of Sawantwadi State could only get the commodities necessary for living from the surrounding areas by sea and land and export timber, coconuts and agricultural and small scale industry products to people in Mumbai and other cities and towns in the neighbourhood. Thus it was agriculture, horticulture, floriculture, forestry, commerce and trade, which formed the economy of the Sawantwadi State during the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth centuries.

Agriculture and horticulture mainly supported the people

The profession of agriculture was practised by 127,370 persons or sixty-nine per cent of the whole population according to the Census of 1871. The revenue survey was on in 1878 and so the exact tillage could not be given. But it was put down approximately at 143,666 hectares. A vast majority of this land was known as *varkas* and they were situated on uplands and hill slopes. They were allowed to lie fallow from three to ten years, two or three crops were then grown, and then the land was again left fallow. [3]

Revenue Settlement Report, 1921

There were two Revenue Settlement Reports on Sawantwadi State, the first one was published in 1886 and the second in 1924. The author of the 1924 report was impressed by the chief characteristic of Sawantwadi, which was the wonderful variety of its countryside, which changed every few kilometers as one went from north to south or east to west. Villages were separated from one another by an endless diversity of wood, river and hill scenery.[4]

On the eastern boundary of the State, on the crest of the range about 800 metres above sea level, there were lands of three villages of

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3. Sakharam Baji Bavdekar, "Agriculture", in Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Vol. X, Ratnagiri and Sawantwadi, (Hereafter Bombay Gazetteer, Sawantwadi), Mumbai, 1880, p. 423.
4. Sawantwadi State Records/R 32/Revenue Settlement Report, 1922-24, (Hereafter SSR and Rev. Settle. Rep. 1924), p. 3, para 8.

Gele, Amboli and Chowkul extending for 15 miles along the crest of the hills and varying from four to six miles in breadth. The only good soil was in the beds of the Ghataprabha and Hiranyakeshi, both of which rose in that area. These two rivers flowed through a thin soiled tract containing in their muddy bed long and unbroken areas of rich summer rice.[5] Further south a projection of Belgaum contained four villages, which extended down the Ghats almost to the village of Parma.[6]

The Report observes, "Below the Ghats the State may be imagined as divided into two irregular halves by a line drawn from Banda in a north-westerly direction to Akeri, due north through Ghaonal to Avlegaon, and then north-east to Kalsuli and Dariste. ... Far on the east the Ghats determine the character of the country. Immense spurs projecting from the main body of the hills run out almost at right angles for a distance up to a dozen miles into the interior of both Kudal and Wadi Pethas. In the valleys between these projections the rivers rush like torrents until the deluge of water has been carried off the hills, and then sink rapidly at the beginning of cold weather into small streams. The most important spur is that which joins the forts of Manohar and Manasantosh to the Sahyadri by a narrow ridge, and then extending to the centre of the State curves round the capital in a series of peaks ranging from 300 to 1100 feet, and dies away a few miles south east of the town. A less important projection is that which joins Kalsuli and Kasal and extends right across the north of Kudal. A third noticeable mass of ridges, jutting out of the Ghat line into the State, is found in the neighbourhood of Narur on the boundary of Wadi and Kudal Pethas. These three collections of hills, which may for convenience be termed as Manohar-Wadi, the Kalsuli-Kasal and the Narur ridges define or determine the principle malarious areas in the State."[7]

Water supply

The water supply, said the Report, was constant in the eastern half of the State. But it was much more irregular in the western half. It was poor in the north, better in the centre, and excellent in the north. The upper block of Kudal, north of the Rateri River, was on the west and north almost devoid of summer rice. The upper part of Kudal was without water for irrigation although the large Gadnadi traversed the tract on the northern

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5. *Ibid.*, p. 3, para 7 and p. 4, para 9.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 3, para 7.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5, para 10.

boundary, by the Pitdhaval north of Kasal and the Rateri north of Wadi Humarmalla. However, this area had broad valleys containing large stretches of unbroken rice land.[8]

The central portion of Kudal and west of Wadi Petha had generally a good water supply to grow dry weather rice with very little irrigation in their best soil. This less arduous form of cultivation was not possible in the south westerly corner of Kudal where the laterite plateau of the Vengurla Taluka extended into the State for three or four miles, rendering the quality of the soil and the water supply much poorer than in the adjoining villages. Outside this laterite formation the water supply steadily improved from north to south. The border villages of Wadi Petha, Tulas and Matond possessed the richly watered valleys, which were the feature of western Banda.[9]

The Karli and Terekhol rivers were tidal at distances of about 15 miles from the sea to broad navigable creeks. They supplied water to continuous stretches of garden land on their banks. The only river between them was the Talavde, four miles to the south of Vengurla, which was valuable on account of the coconut gardens, which it irrigated.[10]

Soil unfit to yield better crops

There was no good soil over any expanse of the State. Colonel Lester said in the Gazetteer that the State soil was chiefly a light sand, full of stones and gravel, and unable to yield the better class of crops.[11]

The prevailing soils in the west were light coloured and have a clayey or sandy nature. A dark coloured laterite soil was found in the southwestern corner of Kudal. But generally the darker only occurred in the east where there was a larger percentage of vegetable matter than was supplied by the more thinly wooded hills of the west. The only really good soil was found in small black patches at the foot of the Ghats, where it was naturally irrigated by hill rivulets and fertilized by leaf manure. But these patches were too few to weaken Colonel Lester's conclusion. The remark, which Gibson made regarding Wadi Petha, was true of the greater part of the State. "The soils through out the District are of an inferior quality

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8. *Ibid.*, p. 5.
9. *Ibid.*
10. *Ibid.*
11. *Ibid.*, p. 5, para 12.

and owing to their sandy nature soon affected by any deficiency in the rainfall."[12]

Cultivation and crops

The total areas classified for cultivation in 1921 were about 24,503 hectares of *Kharib* land, 932 hectares of *Rabi* land, 1,25,676 hectares of *Warkas* land, and 2,290 hectares of *Bagayat* land. These added up to 1,53,401 hectares, which was the total area which could be cultivated in a year. The total area belonging to the various classes in 1886 was more or less the same as the area of 1921.[13]

About 75 per cent of the cultivable land was hilly and was classed as *warkas*. This land could be utilized to grow inferior millet such as *nachni, wari, harik* etc., and that too once in four years on an average. Further *kumri-ing* of such land as also for furnishing *rab* material for the rice land, some portion of the *warkas* area had to be reserved and left fallow for the growth of scrubby jungle. When a margin was left for these purposes, there still remained an appreciable *warkas* area which was assessed at very low rates but which remained altogether unproductive. Though some trees of economic value such as the cashew, the jack, the harda were found growing wild on the *warkas* land, no attempt was made to supplement such trees by artificial regeneration.[14]

The total area under State forest in 1921 was 14,491 hectares of Reserved and 186 hectares of Protected Forest. Since 1886 Reserved Forest had decreased by 594 hectares and Protected Forest had increased by 22 hectares. The total area of State Forest was small as compared to the area of Forest land in private occupation of which a large part was subject to the Kumri system of cultivation.[15]

The total area in the State was 2,39,614 hectares, according to the Administration Report of Sawantwadi, 1929-30. From this, 14,082 hectares was the area of the forest and 50,303 hectares constituted uncultivated waste.[16]

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12. *Ibid.*
13. *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7, para 15.
14. Administration Report of the Sawantwadi State, 1924-25, (Hereafter Administration Report), p. 19.
15. SSR/Rev. Settle. Rep. 1924, p. 7, para 15.
16. Administration Report, 1929-30, p. 4.

It is reported in the Administration Report, 1924-25, that 66,090 hectares remained fallow, being cultivable only at certain intervals and 20,557 hectares was set apart for rabi cultivation. Area available was 67,201 hectares. In that year, the occupants relinquished 1,087 hectares, 2,055 hectares were forfeited and the remaining uncultivated during the year and 10,421 hectares could not be brought under cultivation on account of malaria, emigration and decrease of population. Efforts were being made to bring more uncultivated land under cultivation in malarial tracts by advancing takavi and land improvement loans on a larger scale.[17]

The average percentages of the principal crops relative to the total cropped area were Rice 48.43, *Nagali* 17.84, *Tur, Udid and Kulith* 17.69 and other pulses like *Harik* was 7.29 and *Wari* 3.61.[18]

Tenure and holdings

Lands were held on two different tenures: *Dharekari* and *Sheri*. *Dharekari* lands were held with full occupancy rights subject to the payment of the assessment. *Sheri* or State lands were held on terms prescribed by the State Government. These *Sheri* lands comprised the original property of the Raja and in addition a portion of such lands as had been abandoned by the occupant or had lapsed to the State. *Sheri* lands were held either for a period of 25 years or on permanent tenure subject to varying conditions as regards alienation. Their holders paid either rent or assessment or *judi*. All *Sheri* lands were assessed, but where rent was paid, the assessment was not collected.[19]

The Agriculturalists, as given by the Revenue Settlement Report, were 127,865 tenants and their sub-sharers, 25,031 other landholders, and labourers 8,335, the total being 161,231. The non-agriculturalists were 45,209.[20]

For a peasant in 1880, land paying from Rs. 150 to Rs. 200 a year was considered a large holding; from Rs. 25 to Rs. 50 a middle size holding; and from annas 4 to Rs. 25 a small holding. In that period, a man with four acres of rice land and one acre of hill land, *bharad*, yielding three tons or seven *bharas* of produce valued at Rs. 112, was better off than a man drawing Rs. 8 a month. A pair of oxen could till from two to three

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17. Administration Report, 1924-25, p. 11.
18. SSR/Rev. Settle. Rep. 1924, p. 5, para 12.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 8, para 17.
20. *Ibid.*

acres of land yielding about one and five seventh tons or four *bharad* of grain worth about Rs. 64.[21]

The farmer's live stock generally included bullocks valued at from Rs. 15 to Rs. 40; buffaloes worth from Rs. 10 to Rs. 50; cows worth from Rs. 10 to Rs. 30; and goats worth from annas 8 to Rs. 2. The field tools were the plough, axe, spade, billhook, crowbar, and harrow. The amount of capital represented by the tools and cattle was Rs. 50.[22]

Ploughing and watering the fields and raising crop

During the rains mountain streams watered rice lands, and in the dry season, fields were watered by lifts from brooks, wells and ponds. The water from the brooks was carried through fields and gardens by narrow watercourses. The water of the wells and ponds was drawn by a lever lift, *lat*, worked by a single man, the bucket emptying into a channel at the mouth of the well.[23]

The average plough of land varied from three to four acres. The steps taken to prepare the ground for sowing the wet weather, *sharad*, crop varied greatly in different soils. Moist, *shel*, lands were broken up with the plough as early as December, and between December and April when sowing began, were re-ploughed nine or ten times. In the drier lands the ploughing did not begin till April or May. The soil was then harrowed, manured by burning tree branches, and again harrowed.[24]

There were two seasons for sowing. The crops were distinguished as the dry weather, *gimvas* or *vaingan*, and the wet weather, *pavsali.* The dry weather crops were sown in November and December, and harvested in March and April. These crops were grown only on marshy land watered from rivers. They were rice, *bhat*, Oryza sativa; *nachni*, Eleusine corocana; *kulith*, Dolichos uniflorus; *udid*, Phaseolus mungo; *mug*, Phaseolus radiatus; *chavli*, Dolichos sinensis; *pavta*, Dolichos lablab; and *tur*, Cajanus indicus. The wet weather crops, sown in June and July, were reaped in September, October, and November. They were rice, *vari*, Panicum miliare, *nachni, udid, sava, harik, kulith, mug,* and *tur*. The staple grain crop, representing about one-half of the whole tillage area, was rice. The remaining fifty per cent was divided among fourteen different kinds of

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21. Sakharam Baji Bavdekar, "Agriculture", in *Bombay Gazetteer, Sawantwadi*, p. 423.
22. *Ibid.*, pp. 423 - 424.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 423.
24. *Ibid.*

produce. The chief of the commoner grains, and the proportion they bore to the entire tillage, were *nachni* or *nagli*, Eleusine corocana, 12.50 per cent; *harik*, Paspalum frumentaceum, 9.37 per cent; *kulith*, Dolichos uniflorus, 6.25 per cent; *vari*, Panicum miliare, 6.25 per cent; *udid*, Phaseolus mungo, 3.13 per cent; *mug*, Phaseolus radiatus, 3.13 per cent; *sava*, Panicum miliaceum, 3.13 per cent; other crops, as *til*, Sesamum indicum, *chavli*, Dolichos sinensi, *kang*, Panicum pilosum, *tur* Cajanus indicus, *us* Saccharum officinarum, *pavta*, coffee, *bund*, pepper, *miri*, and hemp, 8 per cent.[25]

Rice, Oryza sativa, held the first place with about fifty per cent of the whole tillage area. For the wet weather crop, in June, after a few showers, the field, if in high moist soil, was sown with rice and ploughed. The plants shot up after a few heavy falls of rain. They were then allowed to grow for a month, and when the soil had become soft, they were pulled up in bunches and planted eight or ten inches apart, in land previously ploughed and cleared of grass. In some villages the seed was sown in nurseries, and when ready to set out, the young plants were in due time carried two or three miles. The field was afterwards weeded from time to time, till, in October or November, the crop was ready for cutting. After being cut it was spread out to dry.[26] It was then tied in sheaves, after a month thrashed by beating the sheaves against a well-cleaned threshing floor, and finally winnowed. If the soil could bear a second crop, it was again prepared in Nonmember, and the same course of labour was gone through. The soil did not require a second manuring nor were the clods of earth broken after ploughing. One crop in the best, *shel*, rice lands, which were never used for a second crop, yielded from six-seventh ton to one and one-fourteenth tons (8-10 *khandis*) the acre; and the second sort from nine-fourteenths to three-fourths of a ton (6-7 *khandis*). Rice[27] was of two kinds, coarse *ukde*, and fine *surai*. Before separating the seed from the

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25. *Ibid.*, p. 424.

26. The names of rice in the various stages of its growth were, (1) *bi*, seed; (2) *rov*, the early green shoots; (3) *tarva*, when ready for transplanting; (4) *posavle*, when seed pods began to form; (5) *dudhgile*, when the seed had a milky consistency; and (6) *bhat*, when it was ready to be gathered in. *Ibid.*

27. Of thirty varieties of rice, seven were of the better and twenty-three of the poorer sort. The seven better sorts of rice were, *kothambire, khirsal, gajvel, tavsal, patni, vatsal,* and *sal*; the twenty-three inferior were, *avchite, kalinaven, kalebela, kalikudaya, kedal, khochni, churail, teykala, damga, dongre, tambikudaya, navan, bilaval, bela, mudge, varangal, vaksal, valya, shirdi, sanane, sukal, sorti,* and *sonphal*. *Ibid.* p. 425.

husk, coarse rice was first boiled a little and then dried, a process which fine rice does not require.[28]

Nachni,[29]

Eleusine corocana, held the second place with 12.50 per cent of the tillage area, and was sown on hill slopes. The farmer visited the hill lands in April and cut down the trees to be used as manure. They then went home, and returned in May to burn the cut braches and trees, and while, the ashes were still warm, sowed the seed. They were back again in June to cut off the shoots that had sprouted from the roots of the trees that were cut down, and then went home again to return in July to weed. In September another visit was paid to lop off any fresh shoots that might have sprouted from the stumps. Then, after the rice harvest was over, they came back to the hill lands in November and housed their crop.[30] With all this trouble the hill harvest did not yield each man more than three upon twenty-eighths of a ton (one *khandi*) worth about Rs. 4.[31]

Horticultural experiments

In 1867, the Sawantwadi State bought from an English woman the estate of Tamboli four miles southeast of the town of Sawantwadi. In 1878-79 there were about 30,000 coffee plants in it. About half of them were raised from seed brought from Curg. Siberian coffee seed was tried but without success. The cost was more than the proceeds. In 1879, an experiment in coffee tillage was made on the spurs of the Sahyadri. The ground was well suited for coffee. But the want of rain, in all but a few months in the year, formed a great, if not an insurmountable, bar to its successful growth. More than 4,000 plants of Manilla hemp were introduced into the Tamboli estate. It grew abundantly in the Sahyadri during the rainy season. In 1876 a newly invented fibre-cleaning machine was imported; but an attempt at extracting Manilla hemp fibre failed.[32]

The people had since a long time commenced growing good varieties of mango grafts in addition to their coconut plantation. The

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28. *Ibid.*, pp. 424 - 425.
29. There are eight varieties of nachni: kere, kharemuthle, dongre, dudhmogre, pavnephutane, enutle, lhovi, and shendre. Ibid. p. 425.
30. The cultivating of *nachni* during the rainy season on the Sahyadri slopes was called hillbreaking, *dongar todna*. *Nachni* was also sown on the plains in the fair season. This kind of tillage, known as *bhave*, yielded a surplus; but it was very seldom resorted to. *Ibid.*, p. 425.
31. *Ibid.*
32. *Ibid.*

facility, however, of providing suitable manures and of taking care to prevent damage to the trees by insects had been lost sight of. A start had been made in this direction. A start had also been made to procure denatured salt for manuring purpose and the demand for these was increasing. A programme for keeping chemical manures and of getting seedlings of fruit trees from other places for experimental purposes as also distribution had been laid down. It was intended to do propaganda for this purpose through local dailies.[33]

Flooding and drought

There was a drought in 1791-92, which came after the plunder of Sawantwadi by the Kolhapur Maharaja. The scarcity was so great that rice was sold at from two to five *shers* for a *pirkhani* rupee. The Raja of Sawantwadi waylaid rice ships and distributed their cargoes. In 1821-22, a sudden and unusual fall of rain destroyed the grain, and a storm that accompanied it ruined the garden crop. Rice raised to seven pounds the rupee. The Raja opened the State *kothi* and distributed supplies.[34]

Flooding of the land by rapidly filling and overflowing of its mountain streams was a very regular occurrence. But the damage caused by the flooding of the rivers was never on a very large scale. The nearest approach to a drought occurred in 1864 when the rainfall was limited to only 96 inches. Again there was scarcity of hill and garden produce during 1875 and 1876. It was not caused by a deficiency in the rainfall, which was sufficiently heavy till September but did not continue till October. But there was no instance of failure so severe as to call for remissions. In 1877-78, there was a delay in rainfall till the middle of July, which resulted in a short rice harvest. And the shortfall in grain was increased by exports to the Deccan and Southern Maharashtra districts, and by the immigration of people from the famine stricken regions. Locusts, though very rare in Sawantwadi, appeared in some swarms in 1865 and 1879 in eighteen villages close to the Sahyadri and destroyed crops worth about Rs. 6000.[35]

Farmers mainly Mahrattas followed by Bhandaries

There were about 71,000 farmers in Sawantwadi. Of these, there were 53,000 Mahrattas, who, as we already know, were the most

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33. SSR/Rev. Settle. Rep. 1924, p. 8, para 17.
34. Bavdekar in *Bombay Gazetteer, Sawantwadi*, pp. 425-426.
35. *Ibid.*, p. 426.

important cultivating class who were found all over the State. The next important farmers were 10,000 Bhandaries. The Saraswats, roughly estimated at 2,000 persons, were chiefly in Pat, Valaval, Tendoli, Nerur, Pinguli, Jharap and Salgaon. The Bhandaries were mostly in Satarde, Ajgaon and Talavda, the Roman Catholics were in Charatha, Majgaon, Insuli and other Banda villages; the Muslims were in Jharap, Mangaon, Naneli, Kolgaon, Banda and Kudal. There were other castes, such as Vanis, Sutars, Sonars, Devlis, Nhavis, Gosavis and Mhars over almost all the State.[36]

There were the better class of cultivators who lived in one-storied mud houses, with tiled roofs and five or six rooms, in orchards of coconut, jack fruit and mango trees. The poorer peasants lived in two or three rooms in houses, which were thatched with dry grass, and coconut palm leaves plaited or plain. Most of the farmers had clay pots except the Saraswats and a few others who had metal pots. All the farmers held their stock of field tools, a pipe, a bamboo mat, and a cot or two. The farm stock generally consisted of one or two pairs of bullocks or buffaloes, one or two cows, and sometimes half a dozen goats. None of the farmers stored any grain except a few of the richest.[37]

The farmers, as a whole, were sober, orderly and mild. They were thrifty even in wedding expenses, except the richest. They manured their fields by burning grass, stubble and branches. But they were not known as skilled labourers except a few who owned gardens. Their chief tools were a plough, a rake, *data*, and a clod crusher and furrow filler, *guta*. The holdings were much sub-divided. Nearly two-thirds of the farmers were tenants or field labourers. The well-to-do farmers employed hired labour at sowing, transplanting and harvest. The poor farmers lent their bullocks to each other for getting their fields ploughed. They used a local name, *varangula*, for a pair of bullocks one of which was borrowed. The farmers followed fowl rearing in a limited extent.[38]

Almost all the farmers were in debt and generally required grain advances both for sowing and for food. Heavy rents and poor crops were responsible for indebtedness. In small transactions the annual rate of interest varied from eighteen to thirty-six per cent. The grain prices and

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36. *Ibid.*, p. 426.
37. *Ibid.* pp. 426-27.
38. *Ibid.* p. 427.

wages had risen for twenty years from 1860 and so had the value of the land. But there was hardly any change in the life of the farmer. Land was the most popular investment among men of means. Much had changed hands in about 1880 but it was not yielding profits of more than three or four per cent a year.[39]

Increase in agricultural revenue and remission of installment

The first Agricultural Revenue Settlement was made in the State from 1872 to 1885. It was brought into effect for a period of thirty years. But, providing for circumstances, the next Revenue Settlement Report was published by Taylor in May 1922. The inferior nature of the soil in the State, the malarial fever attacking the farmers and the absence of an improved scheme to enhance the farm production were cited for the stagnation of the income of agricultural revenue. Taylor had recommended an increase of six or seven per cent coming to about Rs. 17,043 per year. He had recommended that Rs. 1570 from seventeen villages affected by malaria should not be collected till they were free from malaria. The Report of the Revision Settlement had divided the State into six groups and prescribed the revenues according to the fertility of the soil in each group. It was true that this Revision Settlement Report repeated as unchanged the gradation of land in the first Revenue Settlement Report, although some land in it had become *warkas* because of damage done to it in the meanwhile, and the revenue on such land was collected according to the revenue on the garden land. Taylor had noted that it was the duty of the landlord to get the changed gradation of his land recorded in the State records. But this was not being done because of his ignorance. That the revenue on a superior grade of land had to be paid on an inferior grade of land should have been averted according to the rights of the ryot. But it could not be done because of insufficient information.[40]

Taylor also observed that much of the *bagayat* or orchard land, which had been made barren by the attack of locusts in 1900 and 1904, remained without the revenue being reduced by changing the grade of the land in the records. Although it was difficult to assess the temporary or long-standing effect of the locusts at the time of the attack, yet it was possible to know the definite condition the land would be in after twenty years. The people had the wrong impression that the gradation of land

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39. *Ibid.*

40. *Vainateya*, November 25, 1924, Year 1, No. 5, p. 2.

was not possible to be changed once the Revision Settlement had settled it.[41]

Khem Sawant V had announced by *Extra Ordinary Darbari Gazette* of October 29, 1924 that the May installment of the agricultural revenue to be paid by the ryot, including the one from *Sheri* Thikans, would not be collected by the State. The Raja announced further that the exemption was not given only to the superior land holders but also to the inferior ones and declared according to the Land Revenue Code, Section 84 (A) that the superior holder should give the inferior one half the amount of revenue which would be exempted in his case. And on land on which less than full revenue would have to be paid by him, he had to pay the inferior landholder half the amount of the exemption he had received. In some of the villages the custom was that the amount of revenue was not realized by four equal installments. In such villages, the amount of land revenue to be paid in May should be entered at one-fourth of the total yearly revenue payable. If the superior landholder did not give the exemption that way to the inferior right holder, he would not get concession of revenue exemption also.[42]

There was a complaint of eight villages from Kudal Petha against their revenue being increased by more than 45 per cent. There was a hearing of their petition by the Raja and the Revenue Minister and the petition was referred to the Kamavisdar. The petition pointed out that the agricultural revenue in the whole State was increased by about 10 to 26 per cent. But it has been increased by over 45 per cent in the eight villages of Kudal. Thus, there was an increase of about Rs. 8,500 in the eight villages in the agricultural revenue whereas the increase of about Rs. 30,000 had been made for the entire State in the Revision Settlement. The improvements, which were necessary for such an increase, according to the petition, did not exist in the eight villages. The water supply tanks in several villages, it was said, had been destroyed because of lack of Government help. Taylor had chiefly given the communications with the villages as the reason for the increase. But improvements on a large scale had not been made in the villages and the small improvements, which might have been made, did not help the ryot in increasing the production. The farmers were supposed to pay more if the produce of the village was

41. *Ibid.*

42. Orders by M. D. Rane, Minister, Sawantwadi, dated November 24, 1924, published in *Vainateya*, December 2, 1924, Year 1, No. 6, p. 4.

more than sufficient so that it was sent out. But the product of the villages was not enough for them and they had to bring in more rice from outside. It was not correct to have an idea about the prosperity of a place by the trade statistics or the length of the roads. If the villages were prosperous, then the population would have increased. But the population was decreasing. The reason for the increase in the revenue settlement had been cited as the current increase in the prices of grains. But the agricultural product had not increased to more than necessary to support the farmer and so he was not able to get any benefit of the increase in prices. Although the price of rice had increased to more than 65 per cent, the cost of labour to produce that much has increased to 200 to 250 per cent.[43]

The Raja considered the petition and agreed to reduce the increase of Rupees eight thousand to Rupees seven thousand during the first fifteen years and then to continue it as Rupees eight thousand. This exemption was for the immediate fifteen years and would give the eight villages a reduction of Rupees three thousand and five hundred in the revenue to be paid.[44]

There were complaints about the increase in agricultural revenue from cultivators of the *Sheri* Thikans. The revenue was increased to about four to five times the former revenue and it was felt as being too heavy for the tenants. The *Vainateya* felt that it would not be wrong to consider the difference between the earlier and the present rates of revenue. The rate is twice that of the earlier one. But the State should consider the labour and the money spent by the ryot in increasing the production. The *Sheri* land was given to the tenant on a twenty-five years or permanent agreement. And, it was felt, it would be unjust to levy the revenue according to the present income without taking into consideration the incessant effort and money to bring the land to prosperity.[45]

One hundred and ninety-nine villages in the State were brought under Revenue Settlement. The assessment was enhanced in 102 villages and of these 98 were *khalsa* and four *inam*. The assessment was left undisturbed because of malaria and other conditions in 68 villages of which 66 were *khalsa* and two *inam*. The assessment was enhanced in

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43. *Vainateya*, August 18, 1925, Year 1, No. 43, p. 5.
44. *Vainateya*, September 22, 1925, Year 1, No. 47, p. 2.
45. *Vainateya*, October 6, 1925, Year 1, No. 49, p. 2.

the remaining 29 villages but the recovery was postponed. The Desai of Parma held 24 villages on payment of a fixed sum to the Darbar. In the 98 *khalsa* villages, the Revision Settlement was Rs. 1,96,773 against the previous assessment of Rs. 1,70,458. This gave an increase of Rs. 26,315, an enhancement of 15.4 per cent. In the twenty-nine deferred *khalsa* villages, the settlement was Rs. 51,551 as against Rs. 45,322, with an increase of 13.7 per cent.[46]

Actual land cultivated in 1926-27 and how farmers lived

The area under crop in 1926-27 was 1,31,702 acres. This left 28,522 acres uncultivated from the total area of 1,60,224 acres. The average of cultivated land in the preceding five years was 1,35,182 acres.[47]

The land under *Kumri* cultivation, which produced inferior millets such as Nachni, Harik etc., formed 82 per cent of the total cultivable area. The farmers had to leave the *Kumri* land fallow for four to seven years, thus leaving only 42 per cent of the *Kumri* or *Warkas* area available for growing inferior crops in a year. The land in which superior crops such as paddy, cereals and garden produce were cultivated was only 18 per cent of the total cultivable area. Twenty-five per cent of the farmers had to emigrate to Mumbai, Karachi and other towns in order to support themselves. They worked in cotton mills and remitted monies from their salaries for the remaining members who had remained in the State. The amounts, which were thus received by the so-called money order economy, came to Rs. 8,63,383 in 1926-27. The economic condition of the people was far from satisfactory.[48]

Agricultural Adviser tries reforms

Up to 1924, there was no regular Agricultural Department. A new Department of Agriculture was started in January 1925 to advise the people in agricultural and horticultural development and culture of new economic plants. The Agricultural Adviser was to be in charge of this Department and he was under the control of the Revenue Minister.[49]

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46. Administrative Report, 1925-26, pp. 4 and 5.
47. Administration Report, 1926-27, p. 5.
48. *Ibid.*
49. SSR/R.48/F.48/F.H. 10/ Hist. of Sawantwadi State, No. 2844 of April 20, 1929, p. 107.

Some trees of economic value as cashew, jack and *harda* were found on *warkas* land but no attempt had been made to supplement such trees by artificial generation. Khem Sawant V had met Phatarpekar and visited Phatarpekar's Belgaum Farm and decided to avail of his advice to the people of Sawantwadi. The people had been growing good varieties of mango grafts and were having coconut plantations. But they had lost sight of providing manure for these and preventing insects from damaging the crops. Phatarpekar was brought in to assist the people in this direction as also to improve *kharif, rabi and bagayat* cultivation.[50]

The Agricultural Adviser wrote to Khem Sawant V that he would try and improve the conditions of agriculture and the prospective of side-industries with special reference to the growing of fruit trees, development of farms and introduction of new crops. Leaflets would be published and poultry, dairy and weaving would be introduced. He would find out energetic agriculturists who could undertake experiments in paddy, cotton, cane etc., under his instruction. He would like to assist people to some prospective industries such as cup and saucer making, bangle making, vinegar making from cashew juice, lakh breeding etc. He said that he was making a collection of mineral wealth of the State.[51]

Phatarpekar went to some villages around the town of Sawantwadi and examined several plantations of important people. He found that the coconut palms planted by Shaik Baba, head of the police, were not thriving because of bad soil. At Mazgaon, Kalsulkar, a retired sub-judge, was asked to remove the mud *gadagas* around his grafts which were actually being suffocated. As a preventive against white ants, which seemed to molest all the mango trees and coconut palms, he was instructed to whitewash the stumps of the trees. In the Padgaonkar farm at Madkhol, coconut palms were not thriving as they were not properly manured and looked after. At A. Khan's garden it was found that the chikoo and mango grafts, lemon trees, betel nut palms and plantain trees were not thriving because full sunlight was not made available to them. He was asked to remove the adjacent huge trees.[52]

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50. Administration Report, 1924-25, p. 19.
51. *SSR/R-32/F.575*, letter from S S. Phatarpekar to Secretary, His Highness, No. 199 of January 28, 1925.
52. *Ibid.*, letter of February 4, 1925 from Phatarpekar, Agricultural Adviser.

He was shown the furniture factory where nine to ten carpenters worked every day. He transported the furniture to Mumbai. He showed him good specimens of folding teapoys and also folding chairs.[53]

At Kantak's farm at Sarmale he saw five hundred coconut palms and fifty mango grafts planted. He had planted plantains, which required water. All these required capital at low rates of interest.[54]

Among a number of others he visited, one was Tamboli State Gardens where he found many pineapple, plantain and citrus trees, which required water and good care. In his opinion, the Garden was unique possession of the State possessing a variety of fruit, which could hardly be found in the whole of the Bombay Presidency.[55]

In a report he wrote on the agricultural situation in the State, he, in the first instance, noted that fifty per cent of the farmers did not possess the land. If the farmer without land got a good crop, he was likely to lose the land to a competitor in favour of the *saokar* or landowner. He therefore saw to it that the income was average. This made him more of a fatalist than a shrewd hard-working peasant.[56]

"An average farmer with a single pair of bullocks and two or three family members," he wrote, could "cultivate about three acres of paddy." The system of measurement was the British one in those days. They gave him a gross income of about a hundred rupees, a half of which went clean to the landholder. And if he was fortunate enough not to be a debtor to anybody, which was rarely the case, the remaining Rs. 50 worth of paddy was barely sufficient to maintain him for five or six months. But if he was in debt of, say, Rs. 50, he had to pay an interest from 25 to 40 per cent. As the farmer had no land of his own, he could give any mortgage. The *saokar*, therefore, charged him any percentage of interest, even up to 40 per cent, thus getting his sum repaid within three or four years out of mere "interest" and the man went on feeding fat upon the poor farmer. The Deccan Relief Act only deprived the poor farmer from getting any help from the *saokar*.[57]

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53. *Ibid.*
54. *Ibid.*
55. *Ibid.*
56. *SSR/R-32/F.574*, Report No. 104 dated March 18, 1925 from Agricultural Adviser to Assistant Minister, p. 1.
57. *Ibid.*, pp. 1-2.

The farmer needed money to supplement his maintenance, for buying bullocks and for marriages. He could not maintain his family for a whole year without having some other job. He migrated to Mumbai, or some other place where he could in the course of a few months make sixty or eighty rupees for the expenses.[58]

An interest was being paid for three or four generations of a farmer to the *saokar*. The payee was absolutely ignorant of the exact amount due and on what actual transaction it was taken as loan. It was recommended in the report that the farmers who had paid 25 per cent interest for twenty years and 40 per cent for fifteen should have their loan canceled.[59]

It was also recommended that the present landowners should be allowed to consolidate their holdings rather than having the possession piecemeal in different places. The fallow land, in stead of being sold away to big land-owners and monied proprietors, should all be retained by the State and then leased out on nominal rents or sold away in reasonable bits to the new coming farmers. An express understanding that such land could not be divided by any account and that if it was left uncultivated on account of internal strifes, it would be summarily taken possession of by the State.[60]

It was most important to give information about the ways in which help could be had from the Agricultural Adviser by issuing hand bills and distributing them in the three Pethas and by publishing them in the local newspapers. A notice was published in news weekly by the Agricultural Adviser that he should be contacted by farmers either by post or in person in his office to get free agricultural information. They would get information about different manures and fertilizers and he would get the supply of them for the farmers. They would get free information about iron ploughs and other implements, engines to draw and supply water, oil engines, different kinds of fruit trees and mango grafts. If anyone wanted to start gardens or plantations or to improve those, which were already in existence, he would get free advice after the Agricultural Adviser had personally seen them.[61]

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58. *Ibid.*, pp. 2-3.
59. *Ibid.*, p. 4.
60. *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5.
61. *Vainateya*, March 17, 1925, Year 1, No. 20, p. 2.

He thought it was advisable to find out a few men in each Petha and give them implements, seeds and manures and try experiments on their own lands and demonstrate their success to others. Industries like weaving, bee breeding, poultry, lakh-breeding, vinegar making and sericulture were to be introduced when funds were made available. Soils and herbs were to be collected and got analyzed and agricultural and industrial materials should be collected.[62]

The Agricultural Adviser, in the meanwhile, had been doing important work and had visited 41 *Sheri* Thikans and 68 other farms and 665 persons visited him during the whole year. *Deo-kapus* was found in the compounds of some individuals. This was found to have promise and so seeds had been ordered and distributed. There was a high yielding variety of paddy, which had been successfully cultivated in Karjat, and it was ordered for the farmers in Sawantwadi. So was the seed of tobacco ordered as secondary crop.[63]

A depot for the sale of chemical manure was started. Of fertilizers 4,234 pounds and 1,680 pounds of oil cake were ordered, out of which 659 and 580 were purchased by cultivators. Of denatured salt, 414 maunds were purchased as manure from the British Government Salt Depots at Vengurla and Shiroda.[64]

In the year 1925-26, armyworm pest appeared in some villages. Illustrated pamphlets were published in Marathi giving an idea about the life history of the pest and preventive measures to be taken. The Agricultural Adviser and revenue officials went round the villages to advise the farmers how to act. Rinderpest of a virulent type broke out in some villages and killed the cattle. An attempt was made to inoculate the unaffected cattle but the farmers resented it. Khemraj V *alias* Bapusaheb had to go to the villages to explain fully the advantages of inoculation with the serum. The people were satisfied and the epidemic was checked.[65]

A number of fruit trees were secured from Pune, Bangalore, Ootakamund, Sahranpur, Sri Lanka and Japan and were planted experimentally. Some cultivators were supplied with suckers of other varieties of pineapples from Mumbai and Sri Lanka. These were given free

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62. *SSR/R-32/F.575*, Copy of letter No. 111 dated March 24, 1925 from the Agricultural Adviser to the Minister Saheb.
63. Administration Report, 1925-26, pp. 13-16.
64. *Ibid.*
65. *Ibid.*

of cost, and the State guaranteed them against loss. A pamphlet was printed in Marathi about their cultivation in Queensland, Florida and other countries. A number of cinnamon trees and camphor plants were experimentally planted in different localities in the forest to see if they would prosper there. As an incentive to mango grafting, the Agricultural Adviser was instructed to instruct a few local cultivators to learn the art of side grafting and wedge-grafting on stalks of mango trees.[66]

Two thousand eight hundred and seventy-three pounds of bone meal, superphosphates etc., and 1,560 pounds of oil cake were purchased in 1926-27 for manurial purposes as against 659 and 580 pounds, which were bought the previous year. Only 373 maunds of denatured salt were purchased from British Salt Depots at Shiroda and Vengurla as against 414 pounds last year. Thirty-five *Sheri* thikans and more than 40 private farms were visited by the Agricultural Adviser and instructions were given to the farmers about water lifting, planting fruit trees and manuring. From the paddy breeding stations in British India there were brought about a dozen paddy strains and these were tried on selected farms to note their progress. It was found by the Agricultural Adviser that the Kolamba was better suited to the local circumstances and gave 20 per cent more yield than the local varieties.[67]

The armyworm pest[68]appeared in border area near about Chendwan. It was found that the booklet published a year before had not reached the place. The pest had origin in the British villages of Mhapan and Kochara. Foot and mouth disease appeared in a few villages. The Itinerant Veterinary Officer visited the weekly markets at Banda and Kudal and inspected 9,400 animals finding 24 cases of those, which were affected. The total number treated was 2,527, the principal ones being 85 cases of Anthrax and 1,430 of Foot and Mouth.[69]

Experiments conducted in the horticultural field in trying plants of cinnamon, cloves and others and some fruit plants were not successful. The people were skeptical of the low prices at which they were offered and they could not be induced to introduce them in their lands. A large number of suckers of pineapple were distributed free and about 400 suckers of Mauritius and Kew pineapple were ordered from Sri Lanka and were

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66. *Ibid.*
67. Administration Report, 1926-27, p. 13.
68. Spadoptera mauritia.
69. *Ibid.*

offered for sale. But the farmers were unwilling to try them. They were planted in the State garden at Tambuli. The people were not disinclined to purchase budded citrons and graft mangoes. A small nursery farm was started with a *Tagavi* loan with plans to have 1,000 each of budded *mosambi* and grafted mango farms. The camphor and cinnamon plants, however, were found to be in a thriving condition.[70]

M.N. Rangnekar, a local lawyer, had put in 500 hundred coconut trees, 150 mango grafts, 200 *mosambi* grafts and over 1,000 plantain suckers of different varieties in his fields. He had about an acre of sugar cane on the advice of the Agricultural Adviser and that had made a splendid growth. He had put up a *bund* on a river, which stored up water during summer. He irrigated the land by an oil engine and pump set to stimulate the people to make similar arrangements for horticulture.[71]

The country was very suitable for the growth of coconuts and *supari* but the initial outlay had to be made for a period of seven to eight years. It was proposed to introduce an interculture of Robusta or Wild Congo Coffee in the new coconut plantations. As the coffee yielded product up to 10 years, it was considered to be far more abundant and paying. The seeds were ordered but were damaged in transit and so fresh seeds were ordered.[72]

A plot of land at Mhadal Bhatlem was taken up for development and plantation by the Agricultural Department. It was called Mhadal Bhatlem Model Farm. It was developed into a model farm to show the best methods of agricultural operations and systematic plantation of fruit trees, both local and those brought from outside.[73] Almost all improved methods were tried and remedies to overcome practical difficulties were found out. Manuring and other cultural treatments on local economic crops like coconuts, pineapple, bananas, paddy, mango grafts etc., were tried out.[74] About five hundred persons visited the farm in 1933-34 with inquiries in connection with agricultural operations.[75] The Mhadal Bhatlem Model Farm continued its activity from year to year.

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70. *Ibid.*, pp. 13-14.
71. *Ibid.*
72. *Ibid.*
73. Administration Report, 1930-31, p. 13.
74. Administration Report, 1931-32, p. 13.
75. Administration Report, 1933-34, p. 15.

The farmers were informed in 1928 that for using as manure arrangements had been made to make denatured salt available at Vengurla or Shiroda at annas 13 for a Bengali Mann, which was equal to 80 pounds.[76] In an advertisement it was announced by the Deputy Director of Agriculture, Konkan, that since the Government had made profits at the rates charged, they had fixed the rate of annas 10 and would refund the excess amount to the buyer.[77]

It was announced by the Agricultural Adviser that the State Government would stock the manures at Yogasari, Banda and Kudal and supply free of cost the manure that would be enough for fifty to hundred plants. He had given the names of manures for use in sugar cane, potatoes, mangoes, plantains, tobacco, coconut, areca nut, various fruit trees, onions, rice, vegetables and tomatoes.[78]

Farmyard manure was the best manure for plant life. One should know how to prepare the manure pit, the chemical action, which takes place in it and the proportion of it, which is required by the different crops. Demonstration pits were started at six towns and villages and agriculturists were invited to observe them. They were quite satisfied with the excellent quality and the large quantity of the manure obtained by this new method.[79]

Besides Ammo-phos manure, 500 maunds of denatured salt were supplied to agriculturists and horticulturists. Depots were opened at Sawantwadi, Aronda, Math, Nerur and Banda. The proper method for preparation of farmyard manure was being explained to the farmers who were realizing its importance.[80]

Information was also given about oil cakes, bone meal, fish manure, denatured salt and chemical fertilizers like Ammo-phos. They were procured for such agriculturists as desired to have them on payment of costs.[81]

To help the agriculturists to increase their earnings, it was tried to introduce better seeds and better methods. One thousand six hundred and

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76. *Vainateya*, August 28, 1928, Year 4, No. 44, p. 7.
77. *Vainateya*, November 13, 1928, Year 5, No. 2, p. 2.
78. *Vainateya*, November 6, 1928, Year 5, No. 1, p. 5.
79. Administration Report, 1930-31, p. 13.
80. Administration Report, 1931-32, p. 13.
81. Administration Report, 1935-36, p. 22.

sixty seers of the seed was distributed in 1930-31 free of cost.[82] About 1,400 seers of Koluba seeds of different numbers were distributed to sixty-two persons in the State. Intensive cultivation of this variety of paddy was undertaken at Nerur. The experiments at Mhadal Bhatlem Model Farm continued.[83]

Pineapple suckers were distributed for five from 1925 and they had created an interest in the improved varieties such as Kew and Mauritius The demand for the seed suckers and slips increased day by day and it was found difficult to satisfy their needs by ordering them from outside. It was therefore proposed to prepare a fairly big nursery plot. For being planted at Mhadal Bhatlem, seven hundred pineapple suckers were ordered from Sri Lanka.[84] In the year 1933-34, two thousand suckers of Kew variety of pineapples were imported from Sri Lanka and the resultant suckers were kept ready for distribution to enterprising cultivators. Different varieties of bananas were planted in order to shade the pineapples and to get a side crop for sale.[85]

There was no money-earning exportable crop except coconuts, the surplus of which could be exported. The only other export was cashew nuts, graft mangoes and *kokum.* Some *ukda* rice was exported to Goa where they could get a good price for it.[86] All export to Goa had been stopped in 1935-36 because of heavy duty put up by the Government there. In order to help agriculturists to increase their earnings, the Government could try to introduce better seed and better methods. They had been encouraging fresh plantations of coconuts, graft mangoes, pineapples and oranges.[87]

The Census of 1931 showed that the population of the State had increased to 2,30,589. And the area of cultivable land was 1,53,822 hectares, which gave roughly 0.67 hectare of cultivable land per head, which was obviously too little. The salvation of people lay, as the Government concluded, in (1) increasing the production of coconuts, mangoes and other fruit, (2) bringing more land in malarious area under cultivation, (3) starting as many side industries as possible, and (4)

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82. Administration Report, 1930-31, p. 13.
83. Administration Report, 1935-36, p. 21.
84. Administration Report, 1930-31, pp. 13-14.
85. Administration Report, 1933-34, p. 15.
86. Administration Report, 1931-32, p. 13.
87. Administration Report, 1935-36, p. 21.

producing articles which were then imported but which could be grown in the State.[88]

Chillies were grown in two plots of equal area selected in nine villages. One was according to the old method and the other according to the improved method. The outturn by improved methods was nearly three times that of the other.[89]

The Veterinary office examined 1,140 cattle in the year 1935-36. They detected 18 cases of foot and mouth disease. There were 2,238 cases treated during the tour to the various places during the year. The principal ones being 788 of foot and mouth disease, 531 of sprains, tumors, inflammation, wounds etc., 474 of foot diseases, 202 of Rinderpest, 59 of Anthrax, 44 of ear diseases, 36 of digestive disorder and 30 of goat diseases.[90] Khem Sawant V had given fifteen heads of cattle from his *khasgi* for distribution for cattle breeding.[91]

It was started to teach spinning and weaving by knowledgeable persons to people in the villages. The total number of people of both the sexes who were taught was 230. The number of handlooms that were working was 76 and they turned out ordinary cloth such as *panchas, khadi* etc. The Bombay Cooperative Societies Act of 1925 was introduced in the State in 1930 and a number of societies were started in the subsequent years.[92] There were in all sixteen societies working in Sawantwadi State. The bylaws of the Central Cooperative Institute were amended so as to include the spreading of the cooperative movement, starting new societies, holding agricultural exhibitions, improving the condition of the agriculturists by supplying them with better seed and encouraging them to use improved instruments and manures, attending to the works of consolidation of small holdings in order to improve agriculture, organizing village panchayats and attending to village uplift work. Propaganda was done by means of magic lantern lectures and conversations in forty-four villages in the State. The total number of such societies was 1,554.[93]

One of the important societies of this kind was Bande Sahakari Sheti Sangh, which had ten members with a share of Rs. 400. Each of

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88. Administration Report, 1931-32, p. 13.
89. Administration Report, 1930-31, p. 13.
90. Administration Report, 1935-36, p. 23.
91. Administration Report, 1930-31, p. 14.
92. *Ibid.*
93. Administration Report, 1935-36, p. 23.

them had spent Rs. 200 to make arrangement for irrigating his field. In addition to the capital of Rs. 4,000, they had taken from the Government a *Tagai* loan at six and a quarter rate of interest per annum. They had with that Rs. 6,000. They made arrangements to fix an oil engine pump and an engine to un-husk the rice. In addition to that, the society had built a road of one and a half mile from Banda to the plantations. They had been able to provide enough water to about sixty-one hectares of land. They had enough water to provide the needs of some thirty of their neighbours charging them at a reasonable rate. There were five thousand coconuts in the gardens at that time besides a large scope for more. The irrigation was being used for cultivation of chilies and sugar cane.[94]

Forest

Sawantwadi State was the only territory blessed with forest resources among Kolhapur State, Portuguese Goa and Ratnagiri district except for a small forested patch in Dapoli, 1,036 hectares in extent. The forest in Sawantwadi extended over 20,020.7 hectares. "Roughly it is about 300 square miles or one-third of the whole state. Revenue-yielding trees grow on the slopes and along the base of the Sahyadri range and many isolated hills lying between the Sahyadri and the sea."[95] It provided the State and the people with valuable timber for the navy, commercial ships, building construction and furniture. All teak, khair and black wood were considered as the property of the state.

It was for the British administration to reserve the right to the trees on private lands and forest to the State as it had done in its territory to itself. It was done under the great principle which was recognized by the courts of British India that the rights to trees follows the rights to property in the soil. Where it could be shown that the land was the property of the government, the inference could be drawn that, in the absence of any other circumstance which creates a proprietary right in the trees in the land-holder, the trees belong to the government. In a case it was said that the trees were timber trees growing on government land, and the proprietary right to the trees was derived from the property in the land.[96] It was held by the Privy Council that if the *sanads* did not contain the words

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94. *Vainateya*, March 5, 1929, Year 5, No. 18, p. 4.
95. Bombay Gazetteer, Sawantwadi, p. 404.
96. Govind Purshotam v. the Sub-Collector and Deputy Collector of Forests, Kolaba, Couch, C.J., 1869.

common in Marathi sanads when the property in the soil was granted with *jal, taru, tran, pashan, nidhi, nikshep*, that is, water, trees, grass, wood, stone and buried and concealed treasure, then the *sanad* did not confer these rights. As such, the *sanad* conferred only a right to revenues of the village and not the right to the timber growing on the soil. It was also decided that the proprietorship of wastelands belongs to the government. It was held that the felling of trees was universally prohibited.[97] The right of cultivators to take *rab* from *warkas* lands for manuring their rice fields was recognized. The people were prohibited from felling trees of certain specified descriptions, although permitted, as a favour, to cut common wood for domestic use but not for trading purposes.[98] Forest Survey was made in the years 1871 to 1877. The demarcation and measurement of the Forest Reserves in the State was made. It was found that the Gaonkars for Kumri cultivation claimed all the land fit for forest purposes on the lower slopes of the Ghats on the adjoining low ranges of hills. In many villages the jungles near the ghats were still very dense and contained large quantities of *Ain, Kinjal, Nana* and other useful trees. But *Kumri* cultivation had extended so much in that portion of the State that in a few years there would be nothing left but a scrub jungle. There was indeed a great deal of land on the ghats, which had never been used by the people for cultivation.[99] These and several hindrances were more or less settled and the area of the Forest was demarcated.

Forest Act VII of 1878 was therefore promulgated in the State and Act V of 1890 later amended it. The rules like Forest Offences, Forest Rules, Rules regarding Transport of Timber and other forest product, Forest Account Code, Fraudulent Sale of Timber and Forest Grazing were framed. One head officer, two deputies, one clerk, twelve rangers and four *nakedars* were organized to put a stop to underhand wood-cutting and for better protection and improvement of the forests. The forest was organized by making coups area wise that were numbered. And arrangements were made to auction wood in the forest and to plant new trees. For the first five years ending with 1878-79, the State received an income between Rs. 3,280 and Rs. 8,010 per year with Rs. 1,000 or so for the charges. The

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97. Vaman Janardhan Joshi v. the Collector of Thana and the Conservator of Forests, Melvill J., with Gibbs J.

98. Bombay Government Resolution No. 6646 of November 27, 1875.

99. *SSR/R 41/Forest Survey 1871 77 S2*, Vol. I, No. 239 of April 21, 1877, from J. Gibson, Deputy Superintendent, Ratnagiri Revenue Survey to Col. J.F. Lester, Political Superintendent, Sawantwadi.

timbre was sent from Vengurla by sea to Mumbai, or carried in carts by Amboli ghat to Belgaum and other inland districts.[100]

In the following years, the Forest Officer arranged for the various auctions of timbre belonging to various coupes and the contract to graze the cattle or cut and take away the grass from defined areas in the forest.[101] He also arranged to plant the trees and took care to conserve the forest. Ryots were given timber for building, wood for burning and agricultural implements from the forest.[102] But when a great fire affects any part of Government Forest, the *ganvwalle* or villagers, when given notice, should all together arrange to protect the jungle. One who neglects to obey the government order would be liable to punishment.[103]

Protection of animals of the forest

Rules were framed that in the forest certain animals were forbidden to be hunted.[104] The same circular confirmed that on Narendra Hills and in six miles radius no *sambar (shingada, maya)* kind of animals should be hunted without permission of the Political Agent. In another circular it was announced that the people had liberty to kill tiger, bear, panthers etc., and that it was not necessary to obtain permission to hunt such animals or to inform the government. But, the circular said, that according to the rules, the presentation of the skin would get the award.[105] If anyone brought poisonous snakes, which had teeth in the upper half to the Kamavisdar or the town Kotwal, he would be rewarded. If a cobra was killed, he would be paid two annas and other poisonous snakes one-half of an anna.[106]

It was forbidden to destroy, trap, posses or sell during its breeding season Painted snipe, Quail grey, Quail rain, Quail painted, Pea fowl, Jungle fowl grey or Spine fowl and Wild duck and Bison, Sambhar, Chital, Bhekri, Four horned deer, Pisai or Hare. No one should shoot, trap or

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100. Bombay Gazetteer, Sawantwadi, pp. 404-405.
101. *SSR/R 20/Savantvadi Durbari Gazette*, 1902-1903, Vol. 14, No. 5, April 30, 1902, p. 3; No. 12, June 18, 1902, p. 3; No. 16, July 16, 1902, pp. 2-3; No. 21, August 20, 1902, p. 2; No. 23, September 3, 1902, p. 5 etc.
102. *SSR/R 52/No. 882/Savantvadi Durbari Gazette*, 1909-1910, Vol. XXI, No. 2, April 1, 1909, pp. 8 and 9.
103. *SSR/R 12/Savantvadi Durbari Gazette*, 1915-1916, Vol. XXVII, No. 10, May 9, 1915, p. 53.
104. *SSR/R 20/Savantvadi Durbari Gazette*, 1902-1903, Vol. 14, No. 30, October 22, 1902, p. 2. Rule No. 255 of March 20, 1893.
105. *SSR/R 20/Savantvadi Durbari Gazette*, 1893-94, Vol. 3, No. 14, August 2, 1893, p.2.
106. *Ibid.*, No. 15, August 9, 1893, p. 2.

otherwise take the female of bison, Sambhar, Chital, Bhekra or four horned deer at any time.[107]

The acts which were absolutely prohibited in all Reserved and Protected Forests were: (1) the poisoning of rivers or other waters, and the explosion of dynamite in them for the purpose of killing or catching fish, (2) the setting of spring guns, (3) the taking, wounding or killing of big game, other than tiger, panther, hyena, wild dog, pig or bear over water or salt-licks, (4) wounding or killing the females of deer, antelope or bison, (5) wounding or killing any game birds or hares during the close season fixed. These were for the purpose of strict conservation or preservation of animals, which were becoming rare.[108]

When Khem Sawant V took over the rulership of the land, he began to make a careful supervision of the forest in order to nurse it to yield growing revenue to the budget. In the year 1924-25, 12,600 natural teak seedlings were transplanted in coupes and forest blanks. One hundred and fifty thousand and two hundred and fifty teak plants which were reared in forest nurseries were transplanted in forest and exploited areas. Out of these, one hundred and forty-nine thousand and eight hundred were led out under *kumri*-cum-forestry and thirteen thousand and fifty by beat guards. Nineteen seers of sandal wood seed were dibbled in three ranges. Seed enough to produce two hundred thousand of teak plants were sown in eleven of the village nurseries. The total receipts of Forest during that year was Rupees sixty-six thousand and eighty as against sixty thousand five hundred and forty-nine. The expenditure was thirty thousand and ninety-six as against twenty-six thousand two hundred and twenty-four in the previous year.[109]

There was an agreement signed between the Darbar and Sawant-wadi Timber Felling and Sawmill Co. at Kolgaon, which was owned by Bell, an Englishman who had retired from the Forest department of the Bombay Presidency. The agreement was of January 31, 1923 for exploitation of ten sets of successive coupes in the existing working plan rotation. They had to do the felling and remove the timber, firewood and other materials and thus to finish clear-filling in ten sets of coupes by

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107. *SSR/R 52/No. 882/ Savantvadi Durbari Gazette*, 1909-1910, Vol. XXII, No. 4, April 27, 1910, pp. 17-18.

108. *SSR/R 52/No. 883/Savantvadi Durbari Gazette*, 1910-1911 Vol. XXIII, No. 54, November 6, 1911, pp. 303-04.

109. Administration Report, 1924-25, p. 19.

1931-32. They had to make payments in full at the end of first year and had to deposit Rupees Five thousand and two hundred to the Sawantwadi State Treasury as security for the performance of the agreements. They did the work but failed to make a full payment. The Company appealed to the Political Agent who made a concession to them. But the Company failed to make a payment again. The deposit of Rupees five thousand and two hundred was taken by the State and the balance of Rupees seven thousand five hundred and forty-three was still due from the Company.[110]

It was a new enterprise and no local contractors had been able to accomplish the task. Because of the prevalence of malaria, they were handicapped in the free supply of local labour or imported labour. The want of forest roads created difficulties in transporting felled and sawn timber to places of market. There was a great slump in the trade and local merchants were not able to dispose of the stock in hand. The Company lost credit in the market. Khem Sawant V had to order that the material of some coupes be forfeited to the State and the Company should produce two solvent sureties approved by the Darbar of Rupees five thousand each. And the Company should pay all the arrears with interest at seven and half per cent. These concessions were granted on condition that the Company surrenders the set of coupes No. 25, Mangaon, Kunkeri, Pandur and Anao from their contract.[111]

Forest industries

Lac on Tambet grass was found to be an exceptional kind and of no economic value. The Jambha trees[112] are found to be excellent hosts for inoculation and propagation of lac. Heavy incrustation of lac on such trees in the *Kumbla* area of Medha at the foot of the Ram Ghat has been discovered. The local cultivators cultivate the lac growing for a long time. Arrangements have been made to procure sufficient quantity of brood lac from Bhandara and Gujarat to start inoculation on the jambha, kusum and other trees that abound in local forest. A pamphlet on lac culture in Marathi for the people was published.[113]

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110. *SSR/R 38/F. 664/*Correspondence re. contract between Darbar and Sawantwadi Timber Felling and Saw Mill Co. Memo of July 14, 1925 by Ministry of Revenue and Political Affairs.
111. *Ibid.*
112. Kylia Dolariformis.
113. Administrative Report, 1925-26, pp. 15-18.

Plantation

In the year 1926-27, 27,300 natural teak seedlings were transplanted in coupes and forest blanks. In the same year, 93,675 teak plants, which were reared in teak nurseries, were also transplanted in forest area. Similarly 28 seers of sandalwood seeds were dribbled partly in the forest and the remaining was distributed among private owners of land. Kaju and Palas plants were planted and two *kudos* of Hirda seeds were dribbled out of which 30 seeds germinated. Plantation of Casurina trees was undertaken as the tree was found to be an excellent host of sandalwood trees besides producing excellent fuel and fairly good timber.[114] Such plantings were made each year and Khem Sawant V traveled to various coups to see that the planted seedlings had thrived.[115]

Shooting Reserves for Royal Family and guests

There was hardly any sanctuary of sufficient extent in the State where game could be protected. But there were two places in the reserved forests where game had been protected for the Royal family. One was at Amboli with about 5345 acres. The other was at the foot of and on the slopes of the Sahyadri on the Ramghat side with an area of about 2313 acres. The kind of game sheltered in these areas is bison, Sambar, Chital, wild goat, wild dogs, tiger, panther, Pisai, hare, bear and boar, wildfowls and birds.[116]

The Reserved and Protected Forest was 54 square miles in area. Hunting and shooting in it was controlled by rules made under the Indian Forest Act. Small game, except snipe and whistling teal, was scarce. The game birds sheltered were junglefowl, spurfowl, Rain-quail, Bush-quail, green and imperial pigeon. Among animals, there were bear, barking and mouse deer. Cheetal was found in very small numbers but they were not found in 1928.[117]

Holmes Report on various irregularities in forest administration

After about a year and a half of Rani Parvatibai's Regency, the report of H.C. Holmes, Deputy Conservator of Forests, Belgaum, had been

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114. Administration Report, 1926-27, pp. 15-17.

115. *SSR/R 32/F.535/*, Invoice No. 766 of February 16, 1924 and 38 of January 10, 1925.

116. *SSR/R 48/F.M-2, 827/* Miscellaneous Correspondence 1914-34, letter No. 261 of November 9, 1928 from Chief Forest Officer to Minister for Revenue and Political Affairs.

117. *Ibid.*, letter No. P-196 of December 20, 1928 from Minister for Revenue and Political Affairs to the Political Agent, Sawantwadi.

received according to the job he had been assigned by the State. He pointed out various irregularities both administrative and silvicultural allowed with the cognizance of the Chief Forest Officer. He calls them deviations from Working Plan, which he has permitted when they should have the sanction of the Regent. Some 64 trees had been felled in a coupe because of an absence of proper checking. Contract terms had been broken in the case of every cut coupe under the Plan and yet there was no report in writing. About 16,000 seeds were said to have been put in a coupe. But the result was practically worthless.[118] The Report said that the Ranger and Forester, Mameri seemed most ignorant of his duties. The Chief Forest Officer did not perform his duties conscientiously. He has permitted the contract terms to be broken, without taking any action. This is gross neglect of duty. He is of little value to the State.[119] The Range Forest Officer told him that he has not even read the Working Plan. He found that both the Chief Forest Officer and the Range Forest Officer had only the vaguest ideas as to how the Forest was organized in Circles and Coupes.[120] As regards the revenue, he said, if the Plan was worked properly, the theoretical Revenue should be in the neighbourhood of Rs. 450,000.[121] The result of all this report was that the Chief Forest Officer was replaced in 1941.[122]

Several reforms were introduced, regulations under the law were made, rules about the cattle grazing were framed and the Working Plan began to be followed in the administration of the Forest. The income from the Forest was about Rs. 50,000 in 1941-42. But in 1942-43, it had increased to about Rs. 112,000.[123]

Commerce in truncated State of Sawantwadi

Sawantwadi was no longer the same as before the treaty of 1819 and the Agreements of 1838. The East India Company had taken the port of Vengurla, the commercial and military road of Ramghat and the sea as well as the land customs of the State. The taking away of this territory, road and sea and land customs converted the Tal Konkan from a maritime

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118. *SSR/R 32/F.544/*No. 145 of February 10, 1938, Secretary to Regent to Diwan. Report of H.C. Holmes, Deputy Conservator of Forest, Belgaum. pp. 1,2,3 and 6.
119. *Ibid.*, pp. 11 and 12.
120. *Ibid.*, p. 16.
121. *Ibid.*, p. 25.
122. *SSR/R 32/F.545/*No. C/61 of October 10, 1941 from Diwan to Secretary, Regent.
123. *Vainateya*, August 3, 1943, Year 19, No. 36, p. 2.

country into one that was landlocked. It was true that with the Portuguese taking over Goa from the Adilshah, the trade and commerce of Sawantwadi was to some extent affected. The trade was hit by the competition of the East India Company in the second half of the eighteenth century till they destroyed the Indian monopoly in cotton textile in West Asia. But the import and export of British goods through Sawantwadi left a large margin of income to the State. But the British took this opportunity away when they truncated the territory and the commercial powers of the State. The commerce to exploit the necessities of the people of the State and export of their agricultural and horticultural products was the only activity, which remained.

The communication of these people with the Deccan we have discussed in the relevant earlier chapters. It is now necessary to look at the road system with the coming of the British. The Ramghat road, running southeast and crossing Banda and Bhedshi, is seventy-nine kilometres from Vengurla to the top of the Sahyadri. The repair of this road, with a general breadth of thirty feet, was finished in 1821. In 1826 it was a great highway to the Deccan from Sawantwadi, Vengurla and Malwan. The ascent was fit for every kind of wheeled carriage. The tract of country below was wild, hilly and covered with large trees, clumps of bamboos and thick underwood with partial cultivation in the valleys.[124] Steep and crossed by several streams, unabridged and unfordable during the rainy season, this road was very difficult. From Belgaum, a road ran west for about 40 kilometres, and passing through Sinoli, Turakwadi and Kalanandigad, it reached Ramghat.[125]

Another main pass was known as Parpolighat, Parpoli being the name of the village at the bottom from which it started. It climbed to Amboli, a village that is now known as a hill station. Several zigzags made the passage very difficult for carts. On November 1, 1869, the new road was opened between Vengurla and Sawantwadi to Amboli and Belgaum. The Ambolighat was actually made from Danoli, a distance of about 16 kilometres. The whole road from Sawantwadi to Belgaum is 115 kilometres long. The road was metalled with trap. In the nineteen kilometres from Akeri to Danoli, there were five iron girder bridges built of blackstone and limestone. The ghat, with a gradient of one in twenty-eight, rose at the

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124. Clune's Itinerary, p. 142, as given in Bombay Gazetteer, Sawantwadi, p. 433.

125. Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Vol. XXI, Belgaum, (Hereafter Bombay Gazetteer, Belgaum), p. 302.

crest to a height of 580 metres. Parapet walls, mounds of earth, and earth-backed laterite walls protected the roadway from top to bottom. The Amboli ghat was found to be very convenient for carrying traffic in more or less twenty covered carts that traveled to and fro at night. This time was chosen for the comfort of the bullocks. And most of the officers traveled in their carriages or went on their horses or bicycles. Of the five minor mountain routes the Talkat and Mangeli were little used. The Ghotga, Rangna or Prasidhagad, and Hanmant had been improved and had considerable pack-bullock traffic.[126]

The sea traffic was also available through boats, ships and steamers from Vengurla to various ports along the western coast and up to Mumbai and Karachi. This was the cheapest traffic available for exporting agricultural, horticultural and forest goods to various places. The imports were also made from Mumbai of the goods necessary for the people.

There were also a number of unmetalled roads, which formed lines of communication with towns and villages. There were, for instance, the roads from Sawantwadi to Banda, from Sawantwadi to Kudal, from Kudal via Phondaghat to Kolhapur and into the Deccan, and many other roads connecting all principal towns. A road was made between Amboli and Chowkul and further on to Ramghat, a distance of 22 kilometres.[127]

Place known for small commerce

Sawantwadi was known as a place of small trade, which was for the consumers of a State who supported the limited income of agriculture, horticulture and forest with the income they got from jobs in Bombay, Karachi and the various places of employment. The local exports were coconuts, flax, betel nut, myrobalans, coconut fibre, cashew nuts, black pepper, *kokam*, and a little coffee.[128]

The imports are metals and British piece goods from Mumbai; sugar, dates, spices of all kinds, salt-fish and coconut oil from the coast; wheat, millet, Indian millet, *tur, mug, udid*, molasses, garlic, onions, tobacco, snuff, opium, cotton, indigo, and all kinds of Indian cloth from the Deccan; and fruit, paper, poultry, and candles from Goa.[129]

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126. Bombay Gazetteer, Sawantwadi, p. 434.
127. *Ibid.*
128. *Ibid.*, p. 436.
129. *Ibid.*, p.437.

The chief trade was with Belgaum, Mumbai by Vengurla, Chiplun and Goa. The agencies for distributing imports and gathering exports could be classified under five heads: local trade centres, fairs, markets, village shopkeepers and traveling carriers.[130]

The chief trade centres were Belgaum, Bail-Hongal in Sampgaon, Nandgad in Khanapur, Nipani and Sankeshwar in Chikodi, Gokak, and Athni. The Belgaum merchants bought many European articles from Mumbai by Vengurla in the fair season and from Pune during the rains. They were sold to petty dealers and to consumers. The chief exports were made of grain, rice, wheat, gram, *jowar*, and pulse, and of cloth, *dhotars*, *sadis* and women's clothes. Grain was bought by grain merchants from petty corn dealers and growers and sent to the merchants of Sawantwadi. The *dhotis* and *sadis* were bought by cloth merchants from local weavers and were sold to Sawantwadi merchants. Similarly the Sawantwadi merchants bought from Bail-Hongal the *sadis, cholkhans* or bodice cloth, waist cloth and head scarfs, and betel nuts, and molasses. Some goods were found in Nandgad, Nipani, Sankeshwar, Gokak and Athni. These and goods were bought by Sawantwadi traders and were carried by them on pack bullocks and ponies.[131] Caravans of Lamanies brought the bulk of gram and wheat from the Southern Mahratta Country on pack bullocks. In 1868 the bullock traffic down the Parpolighat was about 96,000, as calculated by the toll gathered from each bullock.[132]

There were merchants who had their shops in the market situated on the elevation of the road that connected the Moti Talao and the royal cremation ground. In 1880 was built the Raghunath Market where vegetables, fruit, flowers, fuel wood, articles made out of bamboos and coconut palms and pottery were sold by men and women who had come with their goods and ware from distant villages. They were able to buy whatever they needed from the shops selling foodstuffs, clothes and ornaments. The festivals, and most of all, the months for stocking the provisions for the rainy season were the busiest days for buying. The more important market was that of fish and mutton, that is mostly goat's meat.

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130. Bombay Gazetteer, Belgaum, p. 312.

131. *Ibid.*, pp. 312-14.

132. Bombay Gazetteer, Sawantwadi, p. 436

Cottage industries and motor transport

The town of Sawantwadi was well known for the manufacture of fancy articles, such as embroidered or simple caskets, fans, and baskets of *khaskhas* grass, horn work, lacquered toys and furniture, playing cards or *ganjiphas*, and smoking hubble-bubbles or *gudgudis*. In about the time the British took over the power of ruling over the State, there were men of the Jingar caste who worked as saddlers, sheath-makers and arm-polishers. The articles are tastefully ornamented with gold or silver thread, spangles, talc, green beetles' wings, satin, velvet and peacock's feathers. Horn work was used for dropping water over idols or for keeping gunpowder. About thirty-five different articles were prepared for sale. The making of lacquered toys and furniture was done by the Chitari caste. Low wooden stools or *pats* and cradles or *palnas* were manufactured in large numbers. *Hed*[133] and jackwood were usually used in making these articles were found in abundance in Sawantwadi. The lac and colouring stuff was brought from Mumbai. They also manufactured the round playing cards, or ganjiphas. These were of two kinds, *hukumi* or *changkanchani*, with ninety-six and *dashavtari* with 120 cards. Smoking hubble-bubbles, or *gudgudis*, consist of four parts. The coconut shell, *bela*, was polished and ornamented sometimes with silver. The standing tube, *meru*, and the pipe, *nali*, were made of wood and showed considerable skill. The fourth part was the tobacco bowl, *chilim.*[134]

When the bicycle began to be used in Sawantwadi at the end of the nineteenth century, agencies were started for getting new bicycles and their spare parts. The Union Cycle Company was started in Sawantwadi that was converted into The Union Cycle and Motor Agency Sawantwadi when the motorcars started being used in the early twentieth century. The proprietor of it was M.M. Shah Rajguru or Mian Saheb. The Company started some services between Sawantwadi and Belgaum and later on other places. The matchbox cars carried only eight to twelve passengers with the front seat being reserved for a government officer or some important person. A few lorries of one ton or half a ton were started to carry goods. A company was started by Keshav Bhat to carry passengers and goods and took over an agency of selling cars. C.D. Saldhana started a service by owning a few passenger lorries. The whole motor industry

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133. Adina cordifolia.

134. Bombay Gazetteer, Sawantwadi, pp. 437-38.

increased gradually till the end of World War II. There was an increase in the number of cars owned by successful merchants and professionals in addition to those owned by the Raja.

The only business started by Pokle was the one with domestic manufacture of *vidis* or cigarettes made of *kuda* leaves. The material consisting of *kuda* leaves, tobacco and thread was given to mostly needy women who manufactured the *vidis* that, after checking them by the supervisor, were tied together in bundles, labelled and supplied to retailers. The supplies to Mumbai had reached Rupees three lakh a year.

Attempts were made to exploit the demand for lacquered ware manufacture in Sawantwadi. Before 1925, five firms had started the work of making pen-racks, pin cushions, paper cases, rulers and others in addition to the traditional items of toys, fruits, furniture including cradles, *devaras* or the altars to keep and worship the Gods in the house, *ganjipha* cards, the footwear or *khadavs* to be worn in house and others. One of these firms, Sawantwadi Wooden Equipment Co. Ltd., whose Agent were Apte Sons & Co., has been started as a Joint Stock Company. They had band saw, wood planing and mortising machinery and had been approved as suppliers by the Bombay Government. They had a sufficient supply of lac and had discovered suitable timber from the local forest.[135]

A number of attempts were made under the leadership of Khem Sawant V to discover some exploiter of the known mineral resources in the State. There was an effort made to start a hydroelectric company in collaboration with the neighbouring territories. Efforts had been made in starting handloom industries to give the farmers a side-industry in their half yearly spare time. Some attempts were made to discover new products in the forest. Attempts were also made to develop Aronda, the only port on the bank of Terekhol left in the hands of the State, by bringing in steamers. But all these attempts had proved to be useless in that time.

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135. Administration Report, 1924-25, p. 21.